





**JAMES W. ELLSWORTH.**

GUACANAGARI	PONTIAC	BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA	CAPTAIN PIPE	KEOKUK
QUATIMOTZIN	LOGAN	SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN	CORNPLANTER	BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS	JOSEPH BRANT	MANGUS
SAMOSET	RED JACKET	COLORADAS
MASSASOIT	LITTLE TURTLE	LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP	TECUMSEH	SITTING BULL
UNCAS	OSCEOLA	CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG	SEQUOYA	GERONIMO
	SHABONEE	



TO PERPETUATE THE HISTORY  
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
PEOPLE REPRESENTED BY THE  
ABOVE CHIEFS AND WISE MEN  
THIS COLLECTION HAS BEEN  
GATHERED BY THEIR FRIEND  
EDWARD EVERETT AYER

AND PRESENTED BY HIM  
TO  
THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY  
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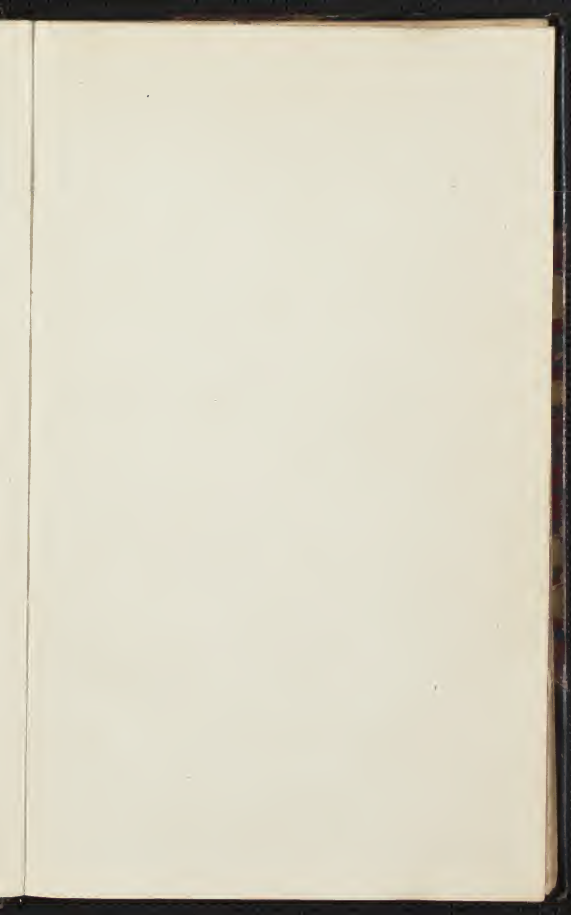
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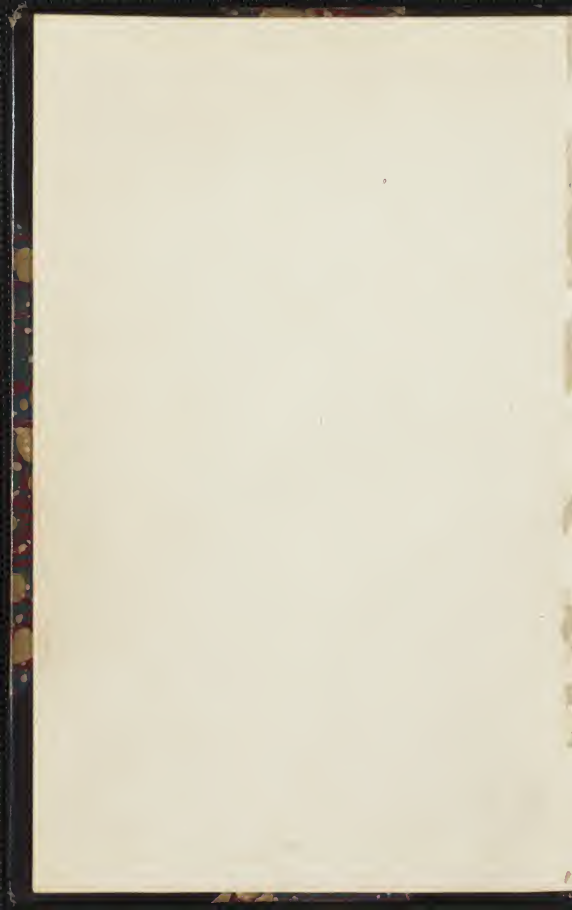
Edward E. Ayer  
With sincere friendship  
and esteem of  
James W. Ellsworth  
Chicago August 10. 1894

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A  
JOURNAL  
OF  
TWO VISITS  
MADE TO SOME NATIONS OF  
INDIANS

ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE RIVER OHIO,

In the YEARS 1772 and 1773.

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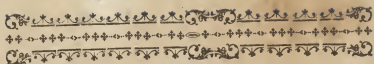
By the REV. *DAVID JONES*,  
Minister of the Gospel at FREEHOLD, in NEW-JERSEY.

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## INTRODUCTION.

KIND READER,

**Y**OU have in this *Journal* presented to your view my travels in two visits to the Indians on the rivers Ohio and Siota ; in which a description is given of this western world, as far as the towns of the Shawannee Indians, which are situated west of the river Siota ; together with what endeavours were made to civilize the Heathens, and my judgment on that subject. It cannot be expected that a particular narrative of the occurrences of every day should be given, because this would render the work voluminous, and too expensive ; but remarks are made on whatever was thought most worthy of notice. Perhaps it may be asked, what motives influenced me to undertake a journey attended with so much expenses, hardships and fatigue ? By reading of the Scriptures it appeared, that the gospel is to be preached to all nations, and that some out of all shall join in the praises of the Lamb of GOD : seeing but little signs of the kingdom of CHRIST among us, it was thought that it might be the day of GOD's mercy and visitation of these neglected savage nations. And notwithstanding the discouragements met with, I am not yet convinced but something might be done for their good, if the attempt was suitably countenanced. Thoughts relative to this subject have been in my mind for several years past,  
and

*and at times with an ardent desire to try what might be done ; but my circumstances prevented any attempts till the beginning of the summer Anno Domini 1772 ; when, in company with Mr. John Holmes who travelled for his health, I began my first tour, and returned from my second on the last of April 1773 ; containing the travels of one year lacking a few days, including the space of near two months between my first and second journey.*

*Concluding it would favour my design, and from a desire to officiate in the ministry, without dependence upon the people, had views of settling on the east side of the river Ohio, in a province then expected to take place under the propriety of messrs. Franklin, Wharton, Baynton, Morgan and others. This induced me to take a more extensive survey of the country than what otherwise might have been expected ; consequently am enabled to describe this new world more to the satisfaction of such as desire to be acquainted with it. For the gratification of the reader, and the better understanding of some paragraphs in the following Journal, it was thought proper thus to premise a few things ; believing that most readers will enjoy as much pleasure as him that actually passed through the scene. It would be esteemed as no small compensation to my hardships, if this Journal might be any means of exciting a pious emulation in some person better qualified to engage in the important work of civilizing the poor neglected Heathens ; and if any should be so disposed, cordially I wish GOD speed to the same ; and remain the reader's unworthy servant in the gospel of CHRIST.*

D. JONES.



A

JOURNAL  
OF TWO VISITS  
TO THE  
INDIANS.

MAY 4, Anno Domini 1772, having prepared for my journey, and committed all to the disposal of Divine Providence, went to Philadelphia, and conversed with messrs. Wharton, Baynton and Morgan concerning settling on the river Ohio; acquainted them also with my designs of visiting the Indians. They all were pleased, and gave me what encouragement was then in their power. Mr. Wharton was so kind as to recommend me to the notice of col. Croghan at Fort Pitt, as he was well qualified, from his long acquaintance with the Indians, to be of great use to me in prosecuting my design; and I understood that Mr. Morgan was so good also as to write to the colonel in my favour. Pleased with the present prospects, left Philadelphia, and in order to see some kindred and friends, went thro' the province of Maryland, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May came to the chief town of that province; situated on good navigable water, in the county of Baltimore, which is also the name of the town.—'Tis a town of great business considering its age, is connected in trade with the western parts of Pennsylvania, and appears in a prosperous state. I  
was

was there on the Lord's day, and was favoured with an opportunity of preaching in the Presbyterian meeting-house, the minister being absent. A number of the hearers appeared genteel and very well dressed ; but was sorry to see the behaviour of some so very unbecoming the solemn worship of GOD—from whose omniscient inspection nothing can be hid. My hearty wishes are, that instead of whispering, talking and laughing in the time of divine service, all those persons especially who are in an exalted station of life may always conduct themselves on such occasion agreeable to their genteel appearance.—In and near this town are three places of divine worship viz. the church of England, the church of Rome (near of equal credit here) and a Presbyterian meeting-house, the last of which makes the best appearance. When I was there no Baptist meeting-house was erected ; but several persons of that persuasion were consulting to make preparations for one ; and I have been informed that a lot of land is purchased for that purpose. Set out from thence May 14<sup>th</sup> ; travelled on a course of W. N. W. 60 miles, to an inland town in said province, called Fredericks-Town ; 'tis situated on, and surrounded with good land, and a pleasant country : and though it is so distant from navigation, 'tis said, there are scarcely any goods in Baltimore or Philadelphia, but what may be had here, on almost as reasonable terms. The town is much larger than what might be expected perhaps owing to the frugality of the German inhabitants, the greater part consisting of that nation. In this remained only a few hours, travelling from thence westerly to Knowland's ferry on Potomack river. This river is broad but not deep,

deep, consequently less serviceable to the western inhabitants : it separates between Maryland and the province of Virginia. The first county adjacent to this ferry is Loudoun, thro' this a tour was made, in which I enjoyed opportunities of preaching, thereby gaining some knowledge of the people and country. From what I saw in that county, small encomiums suit the most part of it. Indeed the country is well watered ; but poor pasture, and few good meadows, and many barren hills may be readily met with. Within a few years past GOD has remarkably blessed the gospel here, so that it may be charitably judged that many are brought to the saving knowledge of CHRIST. Was agreeably entertained with the truly grave aspect of religion, and cannot but commend that godly sincerity that appeared among the professing disciples of JESUS ; though 'tis to be feared that many yet remain strangers to the love of GOD.

HAVING spent what time was thought expedient here, set out for Winchester on Tuesday 19 ; crossed the Blue Ridge at Sniggar's gap. Wagons do pass over, but the mountain is both steep and stony, which renders the transporting of produce this way almost impractical. The top of this ridge is said to divide between Loudoun and Fredericks county. Here we crossed Shannadore, which is a stream near 100 yards wide. Before night came to Winchester, which is the chief town of Fredericks county. Near to this town, on the eastern side, is to be seen the remains of a fortification, erected in time of the last war, and from its appearance must have been very expensive : a number of large cannons are still remaining on and about the walls.

WEDNESDAY

WEDNESDAY 20 set out for Fort Pitt. It was said the nearest way was by the south branch of Potomack. Passed this day over dismal stony mountains, the greatest part not commodious to be inhabited by man. Lodged at an innkeeper's, whose name is Murphy, about seven miles from Rumney, which is the chief town of Hampshire county.

THURSDAY 21 come to Rumney, and there took breakfast. This town is situated on the south side of the south branch of Potomack, and consists of a few log houses and a gaol; nor is it likely from its situation that ever its appearance will be great. From hence we went up the stream to colonel Haight's; most of the road went along a narrow bottom adjacent to the branch; nor does the land, in common, extend to any considerable distance fit for any manner of cultivation. When we arrived to colonel Haight's, we found him agreeably situated, and may justly say that appeared hospitable, kind and courteous.

FRIDAY 22 set out from Patterson's creek where I spent the Sabbath; preached to a small congregation collected from the scattered settlement, which is along this creek.—Hampshire is the most northern county of Virginia, and where I was there no minister was settled in it; soon after, 'tis said, a clergyman of the church from England arrived.

MONDAY 25 from Mr. Johnson's proceeded on our way. This day passed the north branch of Potomack, which is the northern bounds of Virginia. The road is cut along the declivity of the mountain, and the descent exceeds most to be seen used as a road. This day we began to ascend that mountain from others distinguished by name Allegheni. Foreigners are much mistaken in discerning



cerning this mountain, for it is commonly thought that we ascend from one part till near the middle we arrive to the summit, and from thence descend to the foot—whereas in ascending we are near as high in going ten miles, as in any part of it. This mountain is truly worth notice, great part of which abounds with excellent timber; in general either oak, chesnut or white pine, variegated according to the nature of the soil. That part of it called Savage Mountain is beautifully covered with stately white pines, which promise great advantage to the western colony in process of time. In passing this mountain we cross many crystal streams, the principal are called the Little and Great Crossings. The first of which is between 15 and 20 yards wide, and the other about 60 at Mr. Hoagland's: with more propriety these streams are called Little and Great Yochogini. They unite and empty themselves into Monongehela, south of the place where general Braddock was defeated: the Laurel Hill is about ten miles wide, and is only the western part of the same mountain; but one reason why it is spoken of as a distinct place may be, the level land lying eastward, in breadth near ten miles: in this are situated the Great Meadows where Washington was defeated; the intrenchment used on that occasion yet appears.

THIS mountain \* runs a south westerly course, and is at present inhabited in many places. Tho' part of the soil is so cold and subject to frosts, that little grain can be expected; yet it is said that grain of all sorts is produced on the Great

B                      Crossings.

\* The whole hilly country called the Allegini Mountain is said to run a south west course, and terminates between South Carolina and Mississipi.

Crossings. In most places the soil is good for  
grass and meadows. 'Tis very probable that it  
also abounds with various mines, and if so, it  
will be of great utility to the adjacent colonies.  
It is said to be sixty miles across it, as we travel  
from Fort Cumberland to Redstone. Thro' the  
whole as you travel, may lodge every night in  
some kind of houses ; but the entertainment is a  
little rough, for such as are but strangers to the  
new country. In this an amendment may be  
justly expected, for a number of frugal and civil  
people are preparing good accommodations, both  
for man and horse. When we descend the Laurel  
Hill, which is both steep and stony, we come into  
that country which is known in distant places by  
the name of Redstone. This name cannot pro-  
perly be applied to the greater part of this land,  
for Redstone is a creek, and the land adjacent  
makes a very small part of that country. This  
settlement abounds with more creeks than can  
properly be mentioned here. These all empty  
into the river commonly called Monongehela,  
the proper name of which, according to the In-  
dian pronunciation, is *Mehmonawangelak*, which  
signifies, FALLING IN BANK RIVER. From  
the richness of the soil, the banks of this river  
frequently break, and fall into the stream ; hence  
it takes its name. This river comes from the  
south, and sixty miles before it arrives to Fort  
Pitt, it is 200 yards wide. Several ferries are  
kept on it, tho' it may frequently be rode in the  
summer season. On each side of this river, a-  
long the creeks, are settlements amounting to  
many thousand inhabitants in the whole.—In this  
country preached at several places, and made  
known my purpose to visit the Indians. Met with  
an

an interpreter here well qualified to speak the Delaware's language; his name is David Owens: agreed with him to interpret for five pounds per month—the wages may seem high, but none who are well qualified will engage for less. He informed me, that it was necessary to send an ambassador before us, to know if our visit would be acceptable. This appeared reasonable, therefore employed an Indian who lived with him to carry a speech and letter to the king and chiefs of the Delaware Indians. In this new settlement several houses for worship are already erected, one Baptist church constituted, to which I administered the Lord's supper. It was truly pleasing to behold the worship of God here, in a land so lately overspread with heathenish darkness and universal ignorance of God. Who could have expected such a change! but all things are possible with God! May we not hope to see the time when the knowledge of him shall cover the whole earth! It has been his will to favour this new world with a day of divine power, in which it is hoped, a number are brought to the knowledge of CHRIST; nor has he left them without ministerial supplies. The reverend Isaac Sutton, a man of an amiable character, is an ordained minister among them. Besides him, at some distance there are three candidates for the ministry, whose names are mess. John Corbly, John Swinglar and John Whitticur. Was favoured with an opportunity of hearing each; their gifts appeared useful for the edification of the church of CHRIST. The country along Monongehela is very fertile, exceeding most to be met with in the eastern colonies. It is certain that part of it is too rich for wheat, though other parts produce

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it tolerably well. Corn and potatoes are raised to admiration. A person of credit at Muddy Creek said, that one large potatoe cut into several pieces produced the first year one bushel and an half; the second year the return was sixty-four bushels; neither was any dung used, for the earth is sufficiently strong without it. The timber, which consists of black and white oak, walnut and wild cherry, indicates the fertility of the soil.

TUESDAY June 2, parted with my interpreter, who agreed to meet me at the river Ohio; went on my way towards Fort Pitt; arrived safe on Thursday June 4; preached by the way at Turtle Creek; took a view of the fort—it is situated where the rivers Monongehela and Allegheni meet: from thence the united stream is called Ohio, which signifies a fair, gentle or pleasant river. The Shawannees call it *Pellewaa Theepee*, i. e. Turkey River. At this time the fortification was remaining, but somewhat impaired. Here were about eighty foldiers with one commanding officer. It is said the erecting of this fort cost the crown £. 100,000 sterling: by some orders in the fall, it was demolished and abandoned. East, at about 200 yards distance, by the Monongehela, there is a small town chiefly inhabited by Indian traders, and some mechanicks. The army was without a chaplain, nor was the town supplied with any minister. Part of the inhabitants are agreeable and worthy of regard, while others are lamentably dissolute in their morals.—Went to see colonel Croghan; was received by him very courteously; next day dined with him; his habitation was then four miles from Fort Pitt up the Allegheni river—consulted with him about my visit to the Indians; found him well disposed, and

willing

willing to assist ; was pleased to hear the colonel speak on matters relative to religion. He was kind enough to make me a present of a bear's skin to sleep on, a belt of wampum to present to the Indians, and 60 pounds of biscuit to supply me in my journey. This I must say, that the colonel acted the generous, kind gentleman. Part of the time at Fort Pitt, was kindly entertained by Mr. Aneas Mackay, who is deputy commissary here ; have reason to speak of this gentleman as the apostle Paul did of Onesiphorus.

TUESDAY † June 9, left Fort Pitt in company with Mr. George Rogers Clark, and several others, who were disposed to make a tour through this new world. We travelled by water in a canoe, and as I laboured none, had an opportunity of observing the courses of the river. It would be too tedious to give a particular account ; it may suffice to be more general, and refer the curious reader to a map \* expected soon to be published by messrs. Hutchins and Hooper. It may be expected that this performance will be accurate, as greatest part will be done by actual survey. As Mr. Hooper favoured me with the distances of places, the calculations are theirs. ||—From Fort Pitt the river Ohio runs about fifteen miles near a N. W. course ; thence near N. about 14 miles ; then it makes a great bent for about 20 miles running a little S. of W. thence for near 20 miles

† Here I parted with Mr. Holmes who returned to New-Jersey.

\* By request of Mr. Hooper I take subscriptions for this map at a pistole each.

|| Mr. Hooper told me that by a more exact survey made by him, he found the distance between Little and Great Canhawa to be considerably more than is specified in Mr. Hutchins's calculation.

miles S. E. to the place called the Mingo town, where some of that nation yet reside. Some of this town were wont to plunder canoes, therefore we passed them as quietly as possible ; and were so happy as not to be discovered by any of them. From this town to Grave Creek is about thirty miles, and the river, taking the meanders of it, may be said to run a little W. of S. Met here with my interpreter, who came across the country from the waters of Monongehela, and with him some Indians, with whom I had a little conversation. This night my bed was gravel stones by the river side. From Fort Pitt to this creek we were only in one house inhabited by white people. All the way our lodging was on the banks of the river, which at first did not suit me, but custom made it more agreeable.

SATURDAY June 13, moved to a creek by the Indians called *Caapteenin*, i. e. Captains Creek. This creek comes into the river from the west side, and is supposed to be about 75 miles E. S. E. from Newcomer's town, which is the chief town of the Delaware Indians. We encamped opposite to Caapteenin on the east side of Ohio. Here were some families of Indians—we went over and conversed with them, and in the evening some of them returned the visit. Mr. Owens was well acquainted with some of them, and let them know what sort of a man I was. They all shewed respect to me ; even when some of them afterwards were drunk, they were civil to me, and would take me by the hand and say, “ You “ be *minsta*.” Here we spent the Lord's day : in the evening instructed what Indians came over. The most intelligent auditor is called Frank Stephens. He could speak no English, but in this point

point, was at no loss when Mr. Owens was with me. In this interview, spoke on many subjects, and asked several questions, among others, whether he believed that after death there is a state of eternal happiness and of misery? he replied, this he believed—he proceeded and said, “he considered God as the Giver of all good things; if he killed a deer he thought God gave him that good luck.” What he said on this subject raised my expectation, for we know that man is more prone to forget the providence of God, than his existence. While many things were said concerning God, he gave great attention. At this time I felt myself much distressed how to speak so as to make him sensible of the way and manner that we received the scriptures from God. At last these ideas arose in my mind, which were communicated in words to this effect, viz. “Long ago, oh! very long ago: sometimes at one time, and sometimes at another time, God had good men on the earth; and by his great power, God did so confine the imagination of these good men, that at that time they could think nothing but what God would have them think.\* And while they were thus under this great power of God, they wrote the scriptures, which tell us all things that we should believe concerning God, and all things that we should do to please him. This was the same as if God had spoken himself.”—This I must say, though I have firmly for many years past believed that the holy scriptures were given by inspiration of God, yet never had before a deeper sensation of their exalted dignity. What a mercy is it that we are thus directed of God! how awful must the case of such be, who either despise or neglect

\* 2 Pet. i. and 21.



glect instructions from heaven itself!—What was said on this subject much affected Frank, who replied, “that he believed long ago Indians knew how to worship God, but as they had no writings they had lost all knowledge of him: yet sometimes some of them tried to worship him, but knew not whether their services were pleasing to him or not;” and indeed this must have been the case with all, had not God been pleased to reveal his will to us; for no man hath seen him; but says the Evangelist, “the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” This brought to mind, what formerly had been quoted in conversation from a certain author, viz. “a philosopher was demanded by an emperor to give an answer to two questions; the first was, whether there is a God? having proper time given to ruminate on the subject, returned an answer in the affirmative: the second was, how to worship God acceptably? after due deliberation answered, that this never could be known, except God is pleased to reveal it himself.” Seeing that this is the case from hence it appears, how exact we should be in all our religious obedience to God; and never deviate from the directions given us in the holy scriptures: for all additions, though under the specious name of decency and order, must be an abomination in the sight of God.\*

By this time we were surrounded by the evening shades, and repose demanded an end to the present interview—informed Frank, that it was the custom of good white folks to pray to God before they went to sleep—that we were now going to pray, and would pray for him—and then he

\* Luke xvi. and 15.



he understood not what was said, yet may be God would give him good thoughts while I was speaking. With this we all rose up to pray; the Indians rose likewise, being previously informed by the interpreter. With a solemn heart and voice addresses were made to God.—Was informed that during the time the Indians looked very seriously at me. When prayer was ended, Frank told my interpreter, that my voice affected his heart; that he thought I spoke the same way that our Saviour did when he was on earth. It is likely that this Indian had heard of our Saviour from the Moravians or their Indians. It was said by Mr. Owens, that it was common among the Delawares, to mention the name of our Saviour: but the case is otherwise among the Shawannees. An answer was expected here by the ambassador sent to the chief town of the Delaware Indians; but a trader having brought rum, all prospects of doing good by any longer continuance, were at an end; and the ambassador delaying his return, concluded to go down to the Little Canhawa, to view the land. This was near 70 miles below, and from Grave Creek to the Little Canhawa, the river Ohio may be said to run S. W. but it is very crooked, turning to many points of compass.

TUESDAY 16, set out for the Little Canhawa, and arrived to it on Thursday 18. This stream comes from the E. and is near 150 yards wide at the mouth. Went up this about ten miles; found, though it was deep at the mouth, that the falls were so shallow, that our canoes were prevented passing further. Went out to view the land on each side, and to kill provisions. Mr. Owens killed several deer, and a stately buffalo bull. The country here is level, and the soil not

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despisable,

despisable, though not equal in quality to some other places. It is not well watered, consequently not the most promising for health. In several places the highest land is well adorned with stately pine trees ; and yet the soil did not appear too poor to produce good wheat.

WEDNESDAY 24, set out for Caapteenin again. On our way had some bad weather ; viewed the land in many places ; soil generally good ; level land but narrow ; good settlements may be made on several creeks ; some were well watered ; fish in great abundance ; some of which we were so happy as to take.

TUESDAY 30, came safe to Caapteenin. Here was an Indian sent to me from the Delaware town, who gave intelligence that their council were not all at home—that they were considering the matter, and in a little time should hear from them again. This answer would have been better understood, had I known them as well then as now. Being indisposed in stomach, which frequently occasioned vomiting after eating meat, and this being our chief sustenance, was reduced to great weakness, and was in much need of nourishment better adapted to my condition ; therefore moved up to Grave Creek, leaving the two canoes ; crossed the desert to Ten Mile Creek which empties into Monongehela. It was thought the way we travelled made our journey between 50 and 60 miles before we came to the house of Mr. Owens. The season was very warm ; except myself had loads to carry, so that on the 2d day of July with much fatigue, we arrived at the inhabitants, faint, weak, weary and hungry especially Mr. Clark and myself. No victual was ever more acceptable than some butter given

given by the kind inhabitants, which greatly raised my esteem of cows. Stayed at Mr. Owens's over the Lord's day, and preached to a small congregation. To recruit strength, remained in the settlement, and preached next Lord's day near George's Creek on Monongehela to about two hundred hearers.

ABOUT this time a second messenger came from the Indians, giving intelligence that some of the chiefs would soon be at Fort Pitt, where a more particular account would be given, &c. At this time many of the inhabitants were near a famine, occasioned by the multitudes lately moved into this new country; so that it was only through favour that supplies were obtained to make another tour in the wilderness.

TUESDAY July 14, in company with messrs. Clark, Higgins and my interpreter, set out for Fort Pitt; and as it was sometime before the Indians would be at Fort Pitt, took another tour through the deserts to Ohio. Preached on the Lord's day in a cabin near to a creek called *Weeling*, to about 15 auditors. In the afternoon having sent word, a few Indians met me, one of which was Frank Stephens. Having all set down on deerskins presented to us for that purpose by the Indians, addressed them on these subjects, viz. 1. The state in which GOD created man. 2. His fall. 3. The promise of a Saviour; his coming and sufferings. 4. The work of God in renewing our souls to qualify us for heaven, and enabling us to believe on the Saviour. On this occasion was very sensible of the great difficulties of speaking on such important subjects to these poor heathens, who were strangers even to the historical accounts thereof. After due deliberation spoke

spoke to this effect, viz. " You see, my brothers, that man is now very bad ; he does many bad things ; he has a wicked and bad heart : but when God made him at first he was all good, all love. Then he loved God, and loved one another. God said to him, if you will only obey me, you shall always live in a happy state ; but if you disobey, you shall surely die, and be miserable. But afterwards man thought, may be, he might be happy and not die, even if he disobeyed God. Then he did that which God told him he should not do. But oh ! immediately he lost all his good, and became very bad, having no love to God, nor to one another. In this state God looked on him and said, ah ! you have disobeyed, and would not believe me : you must now die, and you deserve to suffer for-ever : yet I have compassion on you, though you do not deserve it, and will send you a Redeemer. After a long time the Redeemer came, and so great was his love for us, that he himself in our stead endured all the punishment due to our transgressions, in order to make peace between God and us. Now God saith that all that believe on this Saviour shall be happy for-ever. And to prepare us for that happiness, God by his great power changes the temper of the hearts of all that believe : then they love God and one another. God takes delight in them, and when they die he takes them up into heaven to be for-ever with himself."—Some white people besides my own company were present it was observable, that some of them were more affected than when they had been more immediately addressed. By what appeared expectation were raised ; but these Indians had no further opportunities, being in time of the second visit down Ohio with my interpreter.

MONDAY July 20, set out for Fort Pitt ; had a small path called Catfish's Road, which led us through the country between Ohio and Monongehela ; had the pleasure of seeing a large extent of good land, but few inhabitants ; it is somewhat uneven, but most part habitable.— Came to Fort Pitt on Wednesday July 22 ; remained about six days ; had an opportunity of conversing with several principal Indians of different nations : they all spoke very agreeably, and seemed pleased with my intentions of instructing them. It is possible that these men were honest ; but am now so well acquainted with Indian deceit as to know, that when they are among us, to pretend to love what will best recommend them, is their common practice. Being informed that it was some time before any further intelligence could be had respecting my visit : therefore wrote another letter to the Delaware king and chiefs of the nation, informing them, that I had been long from home ; could stay no longer at present ; but they might expect me out again in the fall. This was interpreted to one of the chiefs, and with it a belt of wampum delivered with a speech. Was informed all were delivered carefully ; but saw not the person in my second visit.

JULY 28, parting with all friends at Fort Pitt, set out for the Jerseys ; passed through the settlement of Monongehela, preaching in various places ; came to my own house in the latter end of August ; found all well, through the kind providence of GOD, who doth always preserve us through all the dangers of life.

HEALTH was so much impaired by the great fatigue of this journey, that it was with reluctance a second was undertook ; but fearing the bad consequences

sequences of disappointing the Indians, was resolved to proceed on all events. Left my house and family on the 26<sup>th</sup> of October all well, but alas ! all of them I never saw more. My parting at this time went so to my heart, that it seemed as if this journey should finish my days on earth. It was like death itself, but for my word's sake would go : but had it been known how little in reality the Indians cared for my visit, might have contented myself at home.

For the conveniency of carrying provisions, and as a defence against storms, went this time in a covered waggon, in company with a person desirous to see the new country, with a view of settling there. Our carriage rendered our journey less expeditious, and in the event proved considerable loss to me ; for the axletree broke in the Allegini mountain, going down to the Great Crossings—parted with it on such disadvantageous terms, that about five pounds loss was sustained. Met with discouragements also while in Philadelphia, for there some money was expected to pay my interpreter, but none could be had, only one gentleman, as I parted with him, put three or four dollars in my hand. Some were so good as to trust me a small sum in such goods as were necessary for my journey.—It filled me with some astonishment to see professed christians so unconcerned about the conversion of the heathens ! When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on earth !

MESSIEURS Baynton and Morgan were kind enough to furnish me with some necessaries for my journey, and it is hoped that it will not incur displeasure to give credit for their generosity. We travelled so slow, and could make so little way over the Allegini mountain, that we arrived not to

Redstone

Redstone till November 17. A few days before me the Revd. John Davis came here, intending to go with me to Ohio. It surprised me to see him so much impaired in his health. Conversed, and found him resolved to go with me, at least as far as Ohio. Endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, fearing the event, (which in time came to pass) but could not prevail; therefore consented, intending submission to the will of God. When we came to the house of my interpreter, found that some time before our arrival he had, in company with some Delaware Indians, gone far down Ohio: he left word that I might find him about the Shawannee towns, or some where along Ohio. This was very discouraging, as I knew of none so well qualified as himself to answer my purpose. Excited with hopes of finding him, in company with Mr. Davis and some more, set out for the river Ohio; but by high waters, and bad stormy weather, our journey was so retarded that we arrived not to Ohio till Dec. 2. When we came to the house of Dr. James Mc Mechen, formerly neighbour to Mr. Davis, he seemed to forget his complaints, and his heart was exhilarated upon seeing his old acquaintance, and the river Ohio, after such a tedious journey. But alas! dear man, his time was short, for on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of said month, he departed this life, and left me his remains to commit to the earth. My distress was not small on this occasion, for materials to make a coffin, and a spade to dig the grave. Was relieved by hearing that in a cabin at some distance there were some sawed boards, and a spade could be had in going about eight miles. Having got the materials, and assisted by a man a little used to tools, made him a coffin.



coffin. Happily I had carried some nails with me, so that he was buried with some decency. During the time of his illness, he was very submissive to the will of GOD; and was so far from the fear of death, that he was often heard to say, "Oh! that the fatal blow was struck!" He had a complication of disorders, and all medicines used either by Dr. M<sup>c</sup> Mechen or myself seemed to have none effect. When he drew near his last, he was very delirious, and could give few rational answers, tho' he still knew me, and would always have me by him, till all senses failed. To compose him a little, gave him a strong anodyne, which had so much effect, that for about fifteen minutes he enjoyed the use of his reason. In this time he told me, that he firmly believed the LOCALITY of heaven—that in a little time he expected to be with CHRIST, *and see and know HIM as he is now known, and as he is not known.* He said his faith in his Saviour was *unshaken*. Then he made as humble addresses to GOD, as ever I heard drop from mortal lips. Soon after his delirium returned, and never remitted more. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1772, being the Lord's day, about an hour and an half before the sunset, this great man took his final departure from this world of sorrows. Alas! what devastation and destruction has SIN brought upon the human race! that the wise, the reverend head must return to dust! and can we who are alive, love so merciless an enemy! forbid it LORD!—Mr. Davis it is well known, was a great scholar, possessed of a good judgment, and very retentive memory. He had truly a great soul, and despised any thing that was little or mercenary. In our journey he told me one reason why he left Boston was, because



cause he abhorred a dependent life and popularity : that if God continued him, he intended to settle in this new country, where he could preach the gospel of his Saviour freely. His address, in all his religious performances was easy, sweet and pleasing : his private conversation both informing and engaging ; though at times he was a little reserved, yet it was only when not suited. And what exceeds all, I believe he was a humble disciple of our blessed Saviour. In this point, was more confirmed by conversing with him in our journey, than what I had been in any part of former acquaintance.

BEING conscious that poetry is not my gift, yet as the following verses are expressive of Mr. Davis's faith, thought it not amiss to insert them here, as an epitaph to that worthy man, viz.

How learn'd, how fam'd, now avails me not !  
 By whom admir'd, or by whom begot !  
 Ohio's bank my body now confines  
 In safe repose, till CHRIST in triumph shines ;  
 But when the last trump's alarming sound  
 Shall shake the foundations of the ground :  
 And CHRIST in full glory shall descend,  
 The rights of pure justice to defend :  
 Then in bright honour shall this body rise,  
 To meet my dearest LORD up in the skies.

THE remains of this worthy man are interred near a brook, at the north end of the level land adjacent to Grave Creek : about sixteen feet N. of his grave stands a large blackoak tree ; on this the name of Mr. Davis, the date of the year, and day of the month, are cut with my tomme-

D

hock.

liock. This is the present monument ; but Dr. Mc Mechen intended a tomb for him. He was the first white man buried in this part of the country, but not long after a child was laid by him. Here a *Baptist meeting-house* is designed, as the most central place in this part of the country. When Mr. Davis's death was known at Philadelphia, a young gentleman there, who had a tender regard for him, was pleased to publish his character in the publick prints, February 1, 1773. Having obtained leave, thought proper to insert it here, viz. " By advise from Ohio we learn, that upon  
 " the 13<sup>th</sup> of December, the Reverend JOHN  
 " DAVIS, A. M. fellow of *Rhode-Island college*,  
 " and one of the members of the *American philoso-*  
 " *phical society*, died there, after an illness of  
 " three weeks, in the 36<sup>th</sup> year of his age.  
 " Having completed his education in the college of  
 " this city, he was appointed one of the masters of  
 " the academy at Newark in New-castle county,  
 " from whence, upon entering the ministry, he  
 " removed and became PASTOR of the second  
 " Baptist church in Boston. His health being im-  
 " paired, he returned in the latter end of last  
 " summer, hoping to receive benefit from his  
 " native air. A number of people in the  
 " neighbourhood being about to settle on the  
 " Ohio, he accompanied them, seeming desirous  
 " with the Reverend David Jones, to undertake  
 " a visit to the western Indians ; but death stayed  
 " his progress!

" THE powers of his mind were strong from na-  
 " ture, but much improved by a judicious educa-  
 " tion and study. He was a clear reasoner, which  
 " faculty was much assisted by his favourite pur-  
 " suit, the mathematics ; not deficient in genius.  
 " he

“ he relished, with more than common satisfac-  
 “ tion, the *writings of antiquity*, and the most  
 “ ingenious of *the present age*. He was an *enter-*  
 “ *taining companion* ; possessed of uncommon calm-  
 “ ness of temper. In *his preaching*, he endeavour-  
 “ ed to reach the *understanding* of his audience.  
 “ Educated in the genuine principles of *liberty*,  
 “ he felt with the keenest sensibility for the  
 “ *oppressed*. And when his *duty* called him, with  
 “ a *manly and virtuous boldness* defended them.  
 “ A short life can afford but few opportunities  
 “ for *publick action*, but when we find a *youth*  
 “ standing forth a *champion of the common rights*  
 “ *of humanity*, the reverence due to worthy cha-  
 “ racters demands our testimony in *his* behalf,  
 “ whilst we lament *our* loss.”

No scene of life past at that time more affected  
 me than the death of Mr. Davis ; but since that,  
 met with something that touched my soul more  
 to the life, as will appear at the close of this journal.  
 At this time my health was greatly impaired, and  
 now having lost my good friend, had thoughts of  
 returning home. While ruminating on this sub-  
 ject, a canoe came along bound for the Shawan-  
 nee towns. It partly belonged to Mr. John Irwine,  
 an Indian trader, with whom I was acquainted.  
 It was 60 feet in length, and at least 3 feet in  
 breadth ; fitted out with six hands and deeply  
 loaden. The name of the chief hand is James  
 Kelly, who offered to take me along. Resolved  
 to go, supposing that travelling by water might  
 be a means of restoring health ; hoping also that  
 I might meet with my interpreter.

DECEMBER 27, in the morning parted with my  
 brother and other friends, committing the event  
 to Providence ; set out in my voyage to the Sha-  
 wannee

wannec towns. The weather was snowy and severe, yet being lapped up in blankets received no damage. At night encamped on the west side of Ohio, and by the assistance of a large fire, slept more comfortably than could be imagined, by those who are strangers to such lodging.

MONDAY 28, the wind blowing from the S. made the river so rough, that most part of the day it was impossible to travel. It is said by the traders, that the wind almost universally blows up Ohio, especially in winter, nor do I remember it otherwise : if this continues to be the case, it must be of great advantage to trade on this river. Perhaps it would puzzle the greatest philosopher to assign a natural cause for the wind's blowing up this stream in the winter; but it is plain Providence has so ordered it. At evening Mr. Kelly concluded, that as the wind abated, it was duty to continue at the oars all night : therefore we set out, and it was thought by morning we were about eight miles below the little Canhawa. This night was severely cold—the canoe was loaded near eighteen inches above its sides ; on this was my lodging. Though well furnished with blankets, was afraid my feet would have been frozen. It may be well supposed that thoughts of sleep in such apparent danger were not the most pleasing ; for moving a few inches in sleep, would have made the bottom of Ohio to be my *bed*. Many thoughts arose in my mind what might be the event : at last believing that God had a command of my thoughts in sleep, and could keep me from dreaming or starting in my sleep, committed all into his hand, and slept without fear. In the morning found myself safely preserved, through the care of him whose tender mercies are over all the works of his hands.

TUESDAY 29, the wind being contrary, travelled little.

WEDNESDAY 30, the morning being pleasant, set out for the Great Canhawa, passed Hockhocking, which is a pretty large creek, coming from the west side of Ohio. Several creeks came in from the east side, some of which were passed in the night; the land passed in the day time in general appeared good and level: about break of day, passed the mouth of the Great Canhawa; this is a great river, that comes from the borders of Virginia, and is said to be about 300 yards wide at the mouth. The land about this river is esteemed very good, and it is said the seat of government will be here; but perhaps the Great Guiandat will be found best for the metropolis. The mouth of this river, according to the calculation of Mr. Hutchins, is 226 miles below Fort Pitt, but his assistant Mr. Hooper, by actual survey, told me, he found it much more—traders esteem it 250. This morning took breakfast of chocolate, using rum as an ingredient instead of milk, and seemed very useful here in the wilderness, where flesh was our chief provision.

THURSDAY 31, set out for Great Guiandat.—The river Ohio in general bore a S. W. course and a little more westerly: but it is very crooked in many places. This day being fair and pleasant, we travelled a great distance, so that the day following about 11 o'clock we passed the mouth of Great Guiandat, being January 1, 1773. This creek is very large, and it is said that it originates from Clinch Mountain, which separates it from Holston river; and, according to information, is situated west of the southern parts of Virginia. If falls do not prevent, from the appearance of  
this

this creek, it may be navigable for a great distance for canoes and such small craft. Here the land appears charming and level, well supplied with fine blackoak timber ; and was informed, that it abounds with extraordinary springs, especially about the branches that make this creek. In this part of the country, even in the winter season, pasturage is so good, that creatures are well supplied without any assistance. Here are a great abundance of buffaloes, which are a species of cattle, as some suppose, left here by former inhabitants. To such as travel this country it is most evident, that it has formerly been inhabited by some people, who had the use of iron. I have been informed by sundry persons, that up some of these creeks, a pair of mill-stones are to be seen, where it is probable formerly a mill stood. Below this creek's mouth the bank of Ohio seems near one hundred feet higher than the surface of the water in common ; so that no place that we passed, promised superior advantages for a town, as it will always be safe from floods of waters, and easy for the inhabitants of the colony to transport their produce down the stream. The mouth of this creek, according to Mr. Hutchins's calculation, is three hundred and eight miles below Fort Pitt ; but some think it considerably further ; and from Mr. Hooper's actual survey, it is probable it may be so. About thirteen miles below, passed a stream near as large as this, called Great Sandy Creek. According to information, on the heads of these creeks is the most beautiful and fertile country to be settled, that is any where in this new colony ; would therefore recommend it to such as are disposed to settle in this new world. Here the inhabitants will not be *perpetual slaves* to support their

their creatures, for the winters are mild and short, being near the end of latitude 38, or the beginning of 39. Contiguous to this, if none in it, are the famous salt springs, which are a peculiar favour of God in this land, so distant from the sea. Throughout this country in various places salt springs are to be seen ; but more abundantly in the southern parts, the water of which, if boiled, produces very penetrating salt ; some of which I saw myself.

IN this country also are to be seen alum mines, as the people call them ; but some of them, from a chymical experiment, appear to be rather a mixture of vitriol with alum. This country has its excellences as well as some seeming disadvantages, among which the great abundance of stone-coal may be reckoned as one advantage, especially in process of time. The black-smiths about Redstone use none other in their shops, and find it answers their purpose well ; nor is it defective for materials to erect the best of buildings, for there is no scarcity of lime-stone, and excellent quarries of free-stone. At Great Sandy Creek the river Ohio makes a turn, and runs for many miles near due north, and from thence to the mouth of Siota, its course may be said to be S. W. and a little more westerly.

SATURDAY Jan. 2, it rained so that we were obliged to remain in camp : and tho' we stretched our blankets, the rain was so excessive, that we lay soaking wet in our beds through great part of the night. No night seemed more uncomfortable than this, yet was not sensible of any damage received.

JANUARY 3, it rained most part of the day, so that part of us remained in camp ; but others,  
being



being worse disposed, went out to hunt, though we were not in real want of provisions; it was so ordered that they killed nothing. Upon their return reminded them of their impiety, and that Providence prevented success. All that was said seemed only like darting straws against the wind, for sense of duty was lost.

MONDAY 4, set out for the river Siota, and about the middle of the day came to the mouth of it.—The Shawanee Indians formerly lived near the mouth of this river, but finding that their enemies had too easy access, they moved their habitation up the stream. The mouth of Siota may be more than two hundred yards wide, and was then very deep, occasioned by the late rains. It is said that the mouth of this river terminates the colony expected to take place. For some miles before we arrived to this river, mountains seemingly impassable appeared terminating in several tops, covered with pine shrubs S. E. of Ohio. These mountains approach higher the river Ohio, till they terminate at the edge of the stream almost opposite to the mouth of Siota. It is said that there is a way to pass over rather below Siota; and after travelling about fifteen miles you will come to a famous level land covered with good pasturage, and abounding with fine springs of water, inviting inhabitants to partake of the rich productions of Providence. This must be connected with, or part of the land described above on the branches of Great Sandy Creek and Guiandat. The name which the Shawannees give Siota, has slipped my memory, but it signified Hairy River. The Indians tell us that when they came first to live here, deers were so plenty, that in the vernal season, when they came to drink, the stream would



would be thick of hairs ; hence they gave it the name.

ENCAMPED on the east side of this river, at a place called Red Bank, and indeed this is the first place in which we could encamp with safety ; for near the mouth in floods the waters of this river and Ohio unite, covering all the low land ; the two rivers for a mile or better running near the same course, and not far apart. According to Mr. Hutchins, the mouth of this river is situated in latitude 38 and 22 minutes ; and as Ohio runs three hundred and sixty-six miles below Fort Pitt.—Traders call it four hundred miles, and from the remarks by Mr. Hooper it may be supposed to be near the matter.

WAS informed that this river has its sources towards Lake Eric, and that there is but a very small land passage between this river and the streams that empty into that Lake. This will afford a communication with this western world not much thought of ; for it is said goods from New-York can be afforded much cheaper at Fort Detroit, than from Philadelphia by land carriage ; having only two *carrying* places, one at Fort Stanwix, and the other at Niagara Falls. This river is very crooked, but not very rapid ; so that men in canoes can stem the current to the head.

TUESDAY 5, the water being deep, the men rowed the canoe about six or seven miles, and were obliged to encamp—I went myself on land and killed some turkies for provisions.

WEDNESDAY 6, moved slowly—spent some time in getting poles for the canoe—the wood used is called paupaw, it is very light, and bears a kind of fruit in shape resembling a cucumber, but too

luscious for some stomachs. This night our lodging was bad, occasioned by rain.

THURSDAY 7, as the canoe was poled up the stream, for the advantage of killing game, chose to walk on land; but mistaking the way that the river turned, lost myself on the largest walnut bottom that ever I met with before. After some time, found myself mistaken—what added to my surprise, night approached, and the sun did not *shine*. After ruminating on my case, and recollecting the courses I came, concluded that I knew which way the west lay; therefore set off and run over several bad places, till at last the top of a very high hill appeared. Exhilarated with the view, with not a little speed to this my course was bent; but before it was ascended far, had the pleasing prospect of the river, yet was at a loss to determine whether the canoe was below or above me. Went first up the stream, some times whistling, and at other times hollowing till discouraged—then returned down the stream for some miles, till I was satisfied that they were above me—thence returning up again, expecting little else than to be left in this solitary wilderness, with no provisions, and little ammunition to kill any: but while musing thus, heard them fire at their camp for me. Returned the report, firing as I went; but as the wind blew towards me, they heard me not, though happily their guns were always heard. With as much speed as the darkness of the night would permit, being directed by their continual firing, at last arrived safe at the camp, and was received joyfully; for their distress seemed greater than mine, lest some evil had befallen me, and they should bear the blame. This day passed a large creek on the west side of Siota, and several small ones on the east side.

FRIDAY 8, passed some miles up the river, nothing remarkable happening.

SATURDAY 9, Mr. William Butlar, by an accident, having got part of his goods wet, was so retarded in his voyage, that we overtook him, though he set out several days before us. In company with his canoes, we passed a place where some rude Indians were, who had behaved insolently to Mr. Butlar. Our canoe-men, understanding the disposition of Indians, for their safety, made themselves near half drunk, and as they passed the Indians made such a horrid bustle, that the Indians were afraid to molest us, as they said afterwards.

I THOUGHT at first this was only an excuse for excess, but was afterwards convinced that Indians are extremely afraid of any person intoxicated; for they look on such as mad, and among themselves in such a condition are always for *killing*. Encamped this night near the crossings of this river, and slept safely, though not without fear.

10 Being the Lord's day, but as none is kept here; moved up as far as a place called Kuskinkis. It is common here to disload some part of the canoes, and from hence carry the goods on horses to the towns. The land here is level and good, and it is said that the place takes its name from an old Indian of the same name, who used to winter here. This river comes much nearer to some of the towns, but as it is very crooked, it makes the distance so great, it is judged expedient to disload part here. Near us were encamped some Indians, which were going to *Pickaweeke* an Indian town near to Deer Creek.

MONDAY 11, Mr. Butlar and Mr. Nailar concluded from hence to take part of their goods by land,

land, on horses brought from the towns for that purpose. Being very desirous of leaving the canoe, as the season was now cold, requested Mr. Butlar and Mr. Kelly to intercede for me to obtain a horse from the Indian that was going to Pickaweeke.

I HAVE reason to esteem these gentlemen for their assistance on this occasion, for with fair speeches and good treatment, a horse was granted to me; but it is probable a large reward was viewed by the Indian, for they are very mercenary.

SET out about 11 o'clock, and came that night to Paint Creek, which is esteemed about fourteen miles; the last part of the road is near due north. The Indian name of this creek is *Alamoneetheepeeeca*, the English of which is Paint Creek. This creek takes its name from some kind of paint that is found in or about it. It comes from the west, and empties into Siota, near where we encamped. The water is clear and beautiful, demonstrating that it originates from good springs. On some branches of this creek are situated some chief towns of the Shawannees, to be described hereafter.

TUESDAY 12, having taken breakfast with Mr. Butlar and Mr. Nailar, set out for Pickaweeke in company with my Indian friend, whose name is *Cutterway*, his wife and some others. It may be well thought that my journey was solitary, for three words of the Shawannee language were not known by me, and as little English by my fellow-traveller; so that we could converse none by the way. The day being cold induced us to ride fast, so that about two o'clock we came to the town. About one mile from the town my Indian friend cast off, and hid part of his load,  
and

and leaving the women behind, made signs for me to ride on with him. Perhaps the reason of his conduct was, lest we should be molested by drunken Indians ; for when they are intoxicated, their abuses are not confined to white people, but they will even rob Indians. Drawing near the town, many thoughts arose about the event, for to me it was not known that there was one white man in town ; but all anxiety was removed by seeing Mr. Joseph Nicholas, a former acquaintance when at Fort Pitt. With kindness he received and entertained me with such refreshments as the situation afforded. While we were refreshing ourselves Mr. John Irwine came in, and invited me home with him. Mr. Irwine's chief habitation is in a small town, situated W. N. W. of Pickaweeke about three miles. By the English it is called Blue Jackets Town, an Indian of that name residing there. Before this is described, it is proper to take notice of Pickaweeke—it is situated south of a brook that, east of the town, empties into Deer Creek. It takes its name from a nation of Indians called Picks, some of them being the first settlers—the word signifies “the place of the “Picks.” Now it consists of about one hundred souls, being a mixture of Shawannees and other nations, so that it is called a Shawannee town. It is the most remarkable town for robbers and villains, yet it pretends to have its chief men, who are indeed very scoundrels guilty of theft and robbery without any apology or redress. Some of these took four or five mares from Mr. Mc Mechen on Ohio, nor was there any prospect of redress. Leaving this, went with Mr. Irwine to his habitation. This town is situated east of Deer Creek, and north of a large plain. This creek

creek is clear and beautiful, appearing useful for mills and heathful for the inhabitants. The buildings here are logs, their number about twelve. This is a peaceable town, and in it lives *Kishshinottisthee*, who is called a king, and is one of the head men of this nation. The English of his name is *Hardman*.

WEDNESDAY 13, Mr. Irwine invited the king and some of his friends to take breakfast with me, having previously informed him that I was no trader, but was a good man, whose employment among white people was to speak of God and heavenly matters, and came with that view to see my brothers the Indians. None of this nation ever saw a minister, except a chance one at some fort; so that they have little prepossessions only what are natural. When the king met me, it was with all appearance of friendship, and respectfully gave me the right-hand of fellowship, with some kind of obeisance. His friends that came with him he ordered to do the same. When breakfast was ready, which consisted of fat buffalo, beavers tails and chocolate—in a solemn manner, acknowledged the goodness of God, desiring Mr. Irwine to acquaint him with the design of my proceeding, and he said the king approved well of it. In our conference at breakfast, he desired to know my business among them, seeing that I was no trader—told him that I could not give a full answer, being a stranger to their language, and not yet having got a good interpreter to speak for me, but expected one, and then he should fully know my business. At present told him only a few things, because Mr. Irwine could not interpret only in common affairs, not having long traded in this nation.—*Kishshinottisthee* is indeed a  
man



man of good sense, and by all that appeared was my hearty friend. He was desirous that I should instruct them into the knowledge of God, but he was only one, and there were many against me, especially at *Chillicathee*. During my present stay, visited the king in his own dwelling, and was always received kindly, treating me with hickory nuts, which is part of their food, being much superior to any of that kind in our eastern world. He is neither distinguished in apparel or house, that being one of the least in town, being about fourteen feet by twelve. He may be said to possess some degree of hospitality—being much indisposed one day, the king's wife came with what was thought might suit a weak stomach as a present to me; the dish consisted of pumpkins which had been dried, but were now boiled, and with it some bears oil to eat with the pumpkin. As it was a demonstration of benevolence, tho' my appetite was poor, yet I eat a little. About this time it snowed near six inches deep, and for some days it felt near as cold as winter in Philadelphia, though it is thought to be about two degrees south, so that cold weather in common is not long. Before removal from this town captain M<sup>c</sup> Kee, in company with major Smallman arrived. Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Kee is now agent for this department of Indians, and as his influence might be great, acquainted him with my design. He appeared to be pleased, promising to do what was in his power to make my journey prosperous. The Indians having told me, that my old interpreter David Owens was down Ohio below the falls towards the Waabash river, therefore inquired of Mr. M<sup>c</sup> Kee for an interpreter—he recommended one whose name is Cæsar, who was a foreigner,



foreigner, and, as he said, understood something about religion, and therefore would be best for an interpreter on that subject—but was so unhappy as never to see him. We parted expecting to see each other at Chillicaathee. It was with reluctance this town was left, before an opportunity was obtained to instruct the Indians; but being destitute of an interpreter, concluded to move to the chief town

FRIDAY 22, in company with Mr. Irwine, set out for Chillicaathee, and arrived there in the afternoon. Here Mr. Irwine kept an assortment of goods, and for that purpose rented an house from an Indian whose name is *Waappee Monneeto*, in English, often called the White Devil, but the word Monneeto is not of any certain signification. Went to see Mr. Moses Henry a gunsmith and trader from Lancaster. This gentleman has lived for some years in this town, and is lawfully married to a white woman, who was captivated so young that she speaks the language as well as any Indian. She is a daughter of major Collins, formerly an inhabitant of the south branch of Potomack, but now lives near the Little Canhawa on Ohio. Mr. Henry lives in a comfortable manner, having plenty of good beef, pork, milk, &c. His generosity to me was singular, and equal to my highest wishes. Soon after my arrival, dined altogether with Mr. Henry; but slept on my blankets at Mr. Irwine's. By living on such victuals as formerly used, soon recovered my health, in a comfortable degree. Chillicaathee is the chief town of the Shawannee Indians—it is situated north of a large plain adjacent to a branch of Paint Creek. This plain is their corn-field, which supplies great part of their town. Their  
houses

houses are made of logs, nor is there any more regularity observed in this particular than in their morals, for any man erects his house as fancy directs. North of this town are to be seen the remains of an old fortification, the area of which may be fifteen acres. It lies near four square, and appears to have had gates at each corner, and in the middle likewise. From the west middle gate, went a circular entrenchment including about ten acres, which seems designed to defend on all quarters. This circle included a spring. Mr. Irwine told that another exactly in this form is to be seen on the river Siota, the banks of which remain so high as to intercept sight of men on horseback. 'Tis evident to all travellers that this country has been inhabited formerly by a martial race of mankind enjoying the use of iron, for such entrenchments, as appear in various places, could not have been made otherwise: but of this part of antiquity we shall remain ignorant

SATURDAY 23, in company with Mr. Irwine, went to see captain Mc Kee, who lives three miles about west and by north from Chillicaathee in a small town called *Wockachaalli*, which signifies Crooked Nose's Place. Here the captain's Indian relatives live, and some others. This seems only a new town, not having as yet much ground cleared. 'Tis situated east of a creek, which I suppose to be a branch of Paint Creek. Some of the Indians of this town have a large number of the best horses in the nation; nor are they worse supplied with cattle, so that they chiefly live by stock. Captain Mc Kee was very courteous, and still promised well.—Returned the same evening to Chillicaathee. The day following, being Lord's day, remained at Mr. Henry's reading

*Sherlock* on revealed religion, which is a good book on that subject, and may be profitable to the reader : but if the author could have visited the Indians, he might have saved many arguments, and perhaps been more fully convinced, that without revelation there would have been little, or rather no religion among mankind. It is granted, that the apostle speaks of the Gentiles which have not the law, yet do *by nature* the things contained in the law, &c. 'Tis true that *nature* may direct to some parts of the second table of the law, which includes our duty to *man* ; but it is far from being evident, that it directs to the first table, which includes our *duty more immediately to God* ; nay, the scripture sayeth in this point, “ that there is “ none that understandeth, there is none that “ seeketh after God.”\* Had a deeper sensation of this truth, when amongst the Indians, than is common with us. In this town were near twenty white people, some at least of them were disposed to hear the gospel, but dare not preach without leave from the Indians ; for tho’ when among us they are lambs, found them *lions* at home. To be debarred from preaching on the Lord’s day was very grievous, and made the day seem very long ; nay, it seemed impracticable to attempt social prayer, for not a minute was certain to be free from the insults of rude heathens. How great is the mercy to enjoy opportunities of worshipping God without fear ! yet alas ! how many are insensible of it ! and under all advantages, remain *real heathens* in practice ; “ how “ shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation ?”

MR. Henry has preserved a good conscience so far in respect of the Sabbath, that he said, he  
always

\* Rom. iii. 11.

always refused to work at his trade for the Indians on that day, and repeatedly giving them the reason, was so far successful that few applications are made on that day for work—the Indians now knowing when it comes. He told me they were not a little troublesome at first on this account, but by utterly refusing and giving them the reason why he would not work, they were reconciled. From this instance, am persuaded, if the traders were unanimously to refuse trading on the Lord's day, the heathens thereby might be brought into better regulations; but what is to be lamented, some of the traders are not concerned about conscience in this matter, and it never can be well accomplished except they are unanimously agreed. When I came first to this town, two of our canoe-men lay under the hands of an old *squaa*, having had their feet badly frozen in travelling from Siota. 'Tis likely they came with loads of rum by night, for if this article is seen, 'tis common for the Indians to rob them without apology. One of the men indeed had his feet very badly frozen. Having applied to me, let them know that what medicines were in my possession, were not adapted to the complaint, must have recourse to the productions of that soil; therefore prescribed the following poultice, which in a short time absolutely performed the cure in a surprising manner, quickly separating the *mortified* flesh. As it is cheap, and may be depended upon in similar cases, shall communicate it for the benefit of such as are pleased to use it.

TAKE the fresh bark of sassafras roots, pound it in a mortar very fine: then boil it a little in water, mixing it up into the consistency of a poultice with Indian corn meal. Apply it once  
in

in twelve hours as warm as it can be endured. Its operation is attended with a sensation almost equal to burning, but this abates as soon as the mortified flesh is separated.

MONDAY 25, made a further inquiry about the person recommended for my interpreter, was informed that he was hunting beavers, and would not be in till spring. This news blasted all my prospects of making an useful visit, and having no other remedy, applied to one James Gerty, who was well acquainted with their language, but a stranger to religion; neither had he any inclination to engage in such solemn matters, so contrary to the tenor of his life, having little or no fear of God before his eyes: yet he was civil, and, after much persuasion, engaged to assist me; but dare not proceed, he said, before some head men came home, who were out hunting, but expected soon to return. In the mean-time I employed myself in making a *Vocabulary* of the Shawannee language, by his assistance and Mrs. Henry's. Formed a method of spelling this language from the Greek and Welsh. The (ch) is pronounced gutturally as Welsh or old Scotch, and (th) as Greek, by placing the point of the tongue to the upper teeth. Here *diphthongs*, *triphthongs*, nay, even *four* vowels are used in a word. Their language seems very defective in verbs; yet in several particulars very expressive. At first it seemed impossible to spell it, but custom made it almost as familiar as the English. They have only one set of phrases, therefore their language is commonly known by all. Having an opportunity here of exercising reason calmly, have a little changed my sentiments respecting language. The use of words, is to convey the conceptions of the mind in

in such a manner, that others may know our thoughts ; therefore the better these sounds are known, the end of speech is the better answered. It would be almost as rational to *whistle* in company as to speak, using words *unknown* to the hearers. Was this well considered, perhaps it would make some of our fine *pulpit orators* blush, who use as many unknown words in one sermon, as might *grace* a modern apothecary's bill of medicines. To demonstrate a little of the nature of this language, shall give a specimen in their manner of counting to *ten*, viz. *cootte, neswe, nethway, nec-eweeb, nee-aallonweb, nee-cootwothwe, neeswothwee, swaasickthwee, chacootthwee, meetothwee*. The common name for God is *Oueffa Monneeto*, the word *Oueffa* signifying good, but could find no particular signification for the word *Monneeto*. They call the Devil *Monneeto* ; but when he is designed, the adjective *Mauchee* is prefixed. The word *Mauchee* signifies bad or evil : so that they call one the good *Monneeto*, and the other the bad *Monneeto* ; this word is applied to a snake, and other disagreeable things. The chief men in speaking to me used another word, by which God is acknowledged as Creator, viz. *Weshellequa*, i. e. *he that made us all* ; but captain M<sup>c</sup> Kee pronounced it *Coashellequaa*. Was distressed that my time passed and little done to purpose, consulted with the traders to meet for worship ourselves, and spend the Lord's day in the best manner we could among the heathens. It was agreed that on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January, should preach to the white people ; the Indians were to be notified, that if any chose to come, they also should be instructed. Fearing the event, went to see captain M<sup>c</sup> Kee, who promised to come next day and interpret for  
me

me to the Indians ; but he came not, nor is the reason yet known to me, not having had any opportunity of seeing him since : nor was the disappointment less in our town, for the Indians were so extremely uneasy, and used such menaces, that none dare meet ; for nothing can be safely done without their consent. They are arbitrary beyond conception of such as know them not. Ignorance often creates suspicion, this is their case, for they seemed apprehensive, that if we met together, 'twas only to counsel to take the town.

FEBRUARY 1, an Indian lately returned named *Othaa-waapelethec*, in English the Yellow Hawk, came with some others to Mr. Henry's to converse with me. This Indian is one of their chiefs, and esteems himself as a great speaker and very wise : and this may be justly said of him, that he is saucy enough. On this occasion Mr. John Gibson a trader, was my interpreter, being a man both of sense and learning. After common formalities were past, he told me that he wanted to know my business among them ; for he understood that I was no trader. First, informed him from whence I came, and that my chief business was to instruct them from GOD, for his mind was revealed to us, &c.—That I had a great desire for many years to see my brothers the Indians—now wanted to talk with them, and was in hopes that he would allow me an opportunity. He replied that he thought something of that nature was my business. Then he proceeded to make a long *speech*, not with a very pleasant countenance, nor the most agreeable tone of voice, and replied to this effect, viz. “When GOD, who at first made us all, prescribed our way of living, he allowed white people to live one way, and Indians another



ther way ; and as he was one of the chiefs of this town, he did not desire to hear me on the subject of religion, for he was resolved not to believe what might be said, nor pay any regard to it. And he believed it would be the mind of the other Indians." His thoughts were only natural, and seemed to have no other conceptions of my instructions, than as referring to the common affairs of life, consisting in living *like* white folks.

He said that they had lived a long time as they now do, and liked it very well, and he and his people would live as they had done. This Indian seemed like some among us, who consider religion only as state policy. And without doubt there is enough of such religion in the world, even under the name of the CHRISTIAN ; but this affects not the nature of the religion of the Son of GOD, whose *kingdom* is not of this world, but is purely *spiritual*, which does not promise its avouchers *livings* and *worldly* preferments ; but what is infinitely greater, it assures all that truly embrace it, that tho' in this world they may have tribulations, yet in that which is to come, they shall inherit *eternal* life. How often do we find it true, that the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of GOD. This Indian supposed that I would learn them to read, and said it would look very foolish for a man to have a book before him learning to read when old. In reply I said, that suppose GOD gave us the right way of living at first, that if any of us got wrong, it would be kind in the other to say, brother, you have missed your way, this is the road you should follow. Adding that he did not know what I would say before he heard me ; that he could not  
tell

tell but what he might like it. And if he would give liberty, if I did not speak good, he might tell me, and I would say no more. He replied that it did not signify to make any trial, for let me say what I would, he was resolved not to believe me. Indians can bear no contradiction, therefore by this time his savage soul began to be raised. Finding that no good could be done by saying any thing more, for it was only making bad worse; therefore as the weather was cold, and had no horse, begged liberty to stay in town till I could remove. This was granted with coldness.

He said, may be some other nation might receive me, and I might go to them. From this time prepared for my journey, only waiting for good weather—for company and a horse, intending to go to the Waindotts; but afterwards thought it not expedient. Between this time and my departure, was entertained by three Monnectoes, which shall be described hereafter. At present shall give a narrative of the most *dangerous* scene through which I passed.

SATURDAY, February 6, in the afternoon, was sitting on my bed in Mr. Irwine's house, and two of his men were shelling corn at the door, an Indian lately returned from his hunt, came hastily in pursuit of Mr. Irwine's lad, who ran partly behind me. The Indian with violence seized him by the throat, and seemed to be feeling for his knife or tommechoc. Seeing him somewhat intoxicated, was surpris'd. Putting my hand to his breast, relieved the lad, and spoke in the Shawannee language in the most friendly manner. He seemed for a little to be pacified, but soon asked for some tobacco, in the most masterly manner. Having forgot its name, told him in his own language

language that I did not understand him. This enraged him, therefore he took some tobacco, and with violence jobbed it to my mouth, saying *tobaac*. Told him that I had none. Immediately he was so exasperated, that he drew a very large knife on me, and approached to make a pass at me; kept him off only by the length of my arms, so that he could not stab me, desiring one of the men to assist me in such danger: but so dastardly was his conduct, that he refused to come into the house. He afterwards apologized and said that he saw not the knife. In the mean-time the Indian's mother came hastily in, and sprang between us, seizing her son by the hand, and took hold of the knife looking smilingly in my face, as is supposed, to pacify me, lest some evil might follow. By this unforeseen, and yet most seasonable and providential means, got out of doors, and walked off pretty fast to Mr. Henry's, though I did not think proper to run—the distance might be about one hundred yards. Can't readily describe my sensation at that time. I felt something like to what you may call a *martial* spirit stirring in me; my heart became void of fear: the great law of self-defence opened to my view, on the frequent return of these words to my mind, “died Abner as a fool dieth?” In case of another attack, was not without thoughts of standing up for my life, and according to my strength to repel force with force. But oh! how good the LORD is in time of necessity to them that trust in him, in opening another, and much better way for escape, as will appear in the sequel, without offering violence to the hurt of any one. When that Indian beset me, had indeed a knife in my pocket, but it was so ordered that I did not once think of it at that

time. Since that, esteem it a mercy from God that I did not ; for had I made any attempts of the kind, the consequence might have been very bad. This Indian's name is *Yattathuckee*.\* Near night Mr. Henry was looking out at his window, and saw an Indian coming called *Old Will*. He knew him well, and desired me to keep out of that fellow's way, for he was afraid that he would do me harm. For concealment, went upon the cabin-loft, but it was so low that if an Indian stood with his back to the fire, and his face towards me, he might easily see me, therefore for disguise drew some blankets over me. Presently in comes *Old Will*, making inquiry for me, with terrible threats in such a rage, that he soon began to cry with venomous anger. Often he repeated, " Oh ! if I could get one stroke, one stroke ! " This was spoken in English—and Mr. Henry often answered him in English, 'tis likely to let me know how matters were like to issue. Mr. Henry in common possesses a calmness of mind, and on this occasion used it with great discretion ; he did not appear the least disturbed, but answered with an air of indifference, and said may be I was gone away, for the Indians were so cross that he did not think I would stay. Mr. Irwine, I believe, was not a little distressed on this occasion ; and by his prudent conduct contributed to blind the *old murderer*. Mrs. Henry, knowing well the disposition of the Indians, cast in her mite, and by what was said *Old Will* despaired of finding me, consequently went home. But like Job's messengers, one was not well gone before another came, whose name is *Black Arms*. He spoke only in the Shawannee tongue, I could judge only by the tone of his voice,

\* That is, a hasty setting sun.

voice, which was the most terrible that ever saluted my ears. His voice was indeed as the very harbinger of death itself, so that every moment an engagement for life was expected. But behold, through the kind providence of God, a timely way of escape was provided. That evening a very noted person of this nation, called the *Blinking Woman*, was at Mr. Henry's. This woman was foster-mother to Mrs. Henry in time of her captivity. There were present also two or three *squaas* besides. It seemed as if these said something in my favour, though I am not certain what they said, but 'twas soon perceivable that Black Arms was quarrelling with them; the matter was carried so high, that it was evident the *squaas* would no longer bare the abuse; an apprehension of this made Black Arms very glad to find the door, lest he should have been roughly treated for his insolence. During this time little could be expected but death, yet as a support it came into my mind that at our association my last request to my ministring brethren was, to pray that I might be delivered from the hands of unreasonable *men*, which afforded me a degree of hope, that God would hear their prayers, and give deliverance in his own way. Indeed the case seemed in some respects desperate, and was almost similar to the condition of the Israelites at the Red Sea; for if by night an escape was made, the inhabitants were at such a distance, and so many rivers to cross, that there was no prospect of redress. But how infinitely wise is God in disposing all things to unite for the preservation of his people! When Saul and his men surrounded David in the wilderness of *Maon*, so that he was inclosed as a fish in a net, be-  
hold!

hold! a messenger comes with the alarming news that the Philistines had invaded his territories, which obliged him to return with all possible speed. Wisely did God over-rule the turbulent dispositions of this people for my safety; for the squaas, abused by Black Arms, were friends to Old Will, to whom a complaint was made of their abusive treatment. This exasperated Old Will so that he resolved to give him manual instructions for his conduct, for, said he, "Black Arms is always quarrelling with women." Upon meeting a bloody battle commenced, in which each was so effectually abused, that they were willing to remain in their houses till I left the town. Who could have thought of such a way to escape! From hence, have been induced to say, that God often exceeds the expectation of them that trust in him, and opens a door of relief in a way unexpected by us. Before I proceed to give an account of my travels to the Delaware Indians, shall describe the *genius, customs, government and religion* of this nation, as far as opportunity and information allow me. If any thing happens to be misrepresented, shall make no other apology than it was not designed.

#### GENIUS.

THE Shawannees are naturally an active and sensible people, not possessing a dull imagination in some kind of sculpture or hieroglyphicks, if the false faces used by their Monnectoes are of their own formation; for nothing can bear a much more shocking aspect. They are the most cheerful and merry people that ever I saw—the cares of this life, which are such an enemy to us, seem not to have yet entered their mind. It appears as if some kind of drollery was their chief study;

study; consequently both men and women in laughing exceed any nation that ever came under my notice. At the same time perhaps they are the most deceitful that exist in human shape.

As it is common to judge of others by ourselves, so these Indians, from a consciousness of their own deceit, are very suspicious of us having some design to enslave them. This made me fare the worse, for they surmised that the white people had sent me as a spy. It is said of the Cretians, that they were "always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies." Perhaps this may be as justly applied to the Shawannees. This I found to be a craft among them, that when they imagined any thing in their own heart about you, they would say some one told them such things, and all this cunning is to find out your thoughts about them. In common they are men of good stature, rather more slender than the Delawares. These, as well as other Indians, are of timorous spirits, far from possessing any thing heroick, consequently they seek all advantages in war, and never engage without a manifest prospect of victory. There is little danger of their being saucy if there is not more than a double number. 'Tis true that they killed many in the last war, but great part were timorous women scared more than half dead at their sight, or else persons void of arms to defend themselves. 'Tis pretty evident to me that this will not be the case any more, for last war the fear of them was upon us; but the LORD has changed the case, for the *fear* of us is fallen on them; that they are in almost a similar case to the inhabitants of Jericho when besieged by the Israelites; and from hence we may judge as *Rahab* did, that the LORD is on our side, and will  
in



in his own time bring the heathens into subjection.

### GOVERNMENT.

THEY are strangers to civil power and authority : they look on it that GOD made them free—that one man has no natural right to rule over another. In this point they agree with our greatest *politicians*, who affirm that a ruler's *authority extends* no further than the PLEASURE of the people, and when any exceeds that power *given*, it may be justly asked, by what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee that authority—whether in church or state ? 'Tis marvellous indeed, when we consider human depravity, how Divine Providence has preserved this lawless people *in being*. But all things are possible with him, whose dominion is over the most powerful animals and savage men. 'Tis more than probable that GOD has some glorious events in view. Every town has its head men, some of which are by us called kings ; but by what I can learn this appellation is by the Indians given to none, only as they learned it from us. The chief use of these head-men is to give counsel, especially in time of war ; they are used also as most proper to speak with us on any occasion, especially if it be important. They have no laws among them to redress the oppressed : though they seem to have as much need as any people, for they are given much to stealing, both from white people as well as among themselves. Their custom among themselves is, if any one steals, the sufferer steals as much from the felon as he judges satisfaction : and it is more than probable that the second thief has the best of the bargain, for Indians are not easily satisfied. In case any person kills another, there

there is little said, and nothing done ; but if the deceased has a friend, the murderer commonly falls a victim to his displeasure in some drunken frolick ; and it is likely intoxicates himself for that purpose, for Indians have not much resolution without a *dram*. Mrs. Henry told that during her captivity, it was not uncommon for women to hang or drown their children, when they did not like them, and never concern themselves so much as to bury them. Nor were they guilty of this cruelty secretly, for nothing would be said on the occasion more than if a puppy had been drowned. But since they became more acquainted with white people, their conduct in this is amended. Yet they are not all without affection.

#### C U S T O M S.

It is common in this nation to make considerable lamentations for their dead, especially if they were persons of note. They believe a future state of some kind of existence ; but in this their ideas are extremely low and sensual. 'Tis certain that they think the soul of the *deceased* eats, therefore it is common for the survivors to dress good victuals, and place it at the head of the grave for several nights after the person has been buried. They have their children in good subjection : their manner of correction till several years old, is to dash water in their faces, or throw them into the brooks : with this they threaten them on all occasions. They have no form of marriage—the man and woman agree for so many bucks she shall be his wife. Natural affection seems very small. By women beauty is commonly no motive to marriage ; the only inducement seems to be the reward which he gives her. They have

no thoughts of marriage joining interest, every one afterwards having their distinct property.

It is said that women are purchased by the night, week, month or winter, so that they depend on fornication for a living; nor is it thought either a crime or shame, none being esteemed harlots but such as are licentious without a reward. Poligamy is thought no crime—'Tis common to have several wives at the same time; nor dare one of them seem displeased lest she be dismissed. On the smallest offence they part. It often is crime enough for a woman to prove pregnant, but this is not often the case, nor is it like to be while licentiousness and the *lues venerea* are so common. 'Tis probable if there is no reformation, that in another century there will be few of them on earth. At present the whole nation of the Shawannees, according to Mr. Henry's calculation, doth not exceed six hundred, including men, women and children: and from what came under my notice, this account is large enough. Among the customs of this nation, their cruelty to captives, who are not adopted, may be reckoned as one singularly bad. When a captive is brought in, if any in the town fancy the person for a wife, husband, son or daughter, then that person purchases the captive, and keeps him as his own. But it often happens that the poor captive has no friend, then a knife is run thro' between the wrist bones, and drawing deer sinews through the wounds, they proceed to bind them naked to the post in the long house, and, instead of sympathizing, make all imaginable diversion of the helpless agonizing captive. Some times they will come up and cut off the captive's nose, and make abundance of game at his disfigured aspect.

aspect. When they have finished this scene, they lead them out, and with their tommehock complete their design, often leaving their bodies to be consumed by the fowls of the air. Oh ! savage cruelty ! Alas ! how great is the depravity of human nature ! are these descendants of him, who at first was made after the *IMAGE* of *GOD* ? yes, verily ; but the fine gold is become as the *dim brass*. How absolutely needful to be born again ! and how great is that work of *GOD*'s spirit, to make such as these new creatures, as inoffensive as doves or *lamb*s ! yet this has been the case.\* This must be the case when that passage is more fully accomplished, which saith, “the *wolf* also shall dwell with the *lamb*——the *calf*, young *lion* and *fatling* together——they shall not hurt nor destroy——for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the *LORD*.”†

### D I V E R S I O N S.

In the winter season, part of their time is spent at playing a game which they call Mamundis, but this is more common among the Delawares : their minds are more attracted to cards, which, some white people say, they have learned from the French. This might be only an excuse for their own bad conduct. They are most indefatigable dancers, continuing almost every night in the winter to near twelve o'clock. Their musick is only a skin stretched over a keg—on this the musician beats with one stick. As an assistant another stands up shaking in his hand a gourd, that has a parcel of grains of corn in it. But as they dance, all sing, so that the echo of their united voices may be heard at a great distance. Fishing and  
H hunting

\* 1 Cor. vi. 11.

† Isaiah xi. 6—9.

hunting employ their men in summer, and raising corn the women.

THE women are the only drudges, but in return possess the riches ; for what in summer the men make, is chiefly given to the women for their winter's lodging. Among their diversions their mock-devils are none of the least. Indeed they may be esteemed as a great curiosity ; and so shocking is their appearance, that had not Mr. Braynard described them, should have been more surpris'd. These they call *Monneetoes*. Not long before my departure, three of these made their appearance, in consequence as they said of a dream. Being premonish'd, went out of the cabin, while they were distant near one hundred yards. 'Tis more than probable that the *Monneetoes* knew me, and intended to scare me. The foremost stooped down by a tree and took sight as if he design'd to shoot at me : but I could see that he had only a pole in his hand. Each has a pole in his hand to keep off the dogs, which on this occasion seem frighten'd almost out of their senses. As they approached their noise was shocking, nor were their actions to be easily imitated. Each had a false face, and all dress'd in bearskin with the hair on, so that the only resemblance of their species consist'd in walking. The foremost had a red face, with a prodigious long nose, and big lips ; the others had black faces with long chins resembling bears. All had cas'd tortoise shells, with artificial necks—grains of corn are put into these, to make a gingle—and many other trinkets are used to complete the noise. With all these frantick capers I was by them surrounded—ask'd what they wanted ? but *Monneetoes* can't speak. After some time they produced a pipe, by which  
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it was understood that tobacco was acceptable. Upon the reception of any donation, some kind of obeisance is made, and as they depart, the scene is ended with a kind of dance resembling the actions of a bear. In short their looks, voices and actions were such, that it was thought if they had got their samples from beneath, the scene could not be much exceeded. This apparel is used also by their pouwouers in their attempts of healing the sick, when they cannot find out the cause of their disorder.

### R E L I G I O N.

It is said of these as well as of all Indians that I heard of, that they believe there is a good Monneeto and a bad Monneeto: but they in no manner worship either one or the other. 'Tis doing them injustice to say they worship the Devil, for they give themselves no concern about GOD or the Devil. They have not one thought worthy of GOD. 'Tis a subject neither thought on, nor spoken of. In no way do they acknowledge either mercies or judgments as coming from GOD. They seem to have some conceptions of his making the world at first: but none as a preserver or governor of the works of his hands. Never do they call on any higher power to interpose in any distress—neither do they apprehend that he is displeased with any of their actions, not thinking any thing to be a sin—they seem to have no desire to know him. 'Tis said, by them that are best acquainted with them, that it never doth appear that they have any reproof of conscience for crimes committed: so that it may well be said, that they are without any kind of religion good or bad, inward or outward. It would be a mercy if this representation could be confined  
to

to the Shawannees ; but how many are among us that though they profess that they know God, yet in works deny him ? There is much noise in the world about what they call *natural religion*, but I am fully convinced now there is no such thing existing ; for if men had neither tradition, or revelation other ways, they would concern themselves about God little more than the brutes that perish. 'Tis probable some may say, that some heathens have wrote well concerning God. This is granted, but pray, kind reader, how came they by that knowledge ? had they no *tradition* to begin on ? till it is proved that they had none, the argument is not affected, and this is a point that never can be made appear. Whoever reads *Grotius* on the truth of the christian religion, will see how they came by their knowledge. And whoever considers that the world was in a comparison then young, will see that *tradition* was not extinct.\* Is it not a great crime to use the knowledge obtained from *revelation*, only to malign it ? it is indeed horrid ingratitude. And are they not guilty of this, who call that knowledge obtained from it by the name of *natural religion* ? it is wished that such persons could only see the Indians, especially such as have least acquaintance with us : for others gain knowledge from us, therefore if judgment is formed from such, a great mistake will be made by supposing that to be natural, which is acquired. 'Tis more than probable, if the experiment was made, that they would be so convinced as to give up the point, acknowledging that if God had not revealed himself to us, we would have never made it

\* By tradition is meant something handed down from Adam to Noah, and from him to his posterity, &c.



our concern to seek after him. We read nothing of Adam's concerns about God after his transgression, 'till God first calls upon him. Might we not have expected to find him, who so lately possessed the image of God, breaking out into a soliloquy something like unto this, "Alas! where am I! to what a state has my vain, my ungrateful attempts brought me! now I feel nothing but gloomy darkness overspreading all my wretched soul, and an awful distance from that God, with whom I was wont to have the sweetest communion. How can I thus live, robbed of my paradise of joy! Oh! will HEAVEN look down on such a rebel!" But the sacred historian gives not the least hint of any *relentings* on this occasion, nor of any desires after God. And if the case was so with our first parent after his transgression, can we expect any of his descendants to be better disposed? such an expectation would indicate both *ignorance* and *arrogance*.— Though the present case of these Indians is so deplorable, yet it is my opinion, that they might be civilized in a short time, if it became a matter of publick *concern*, and authority would interpose to support some well disposed and well qualified persons, who would be willing to endure hardships for the good of the needy. There is one difficulty in common not considered, viz. this people live a vagrant life, seldom remaining long in one place, especially in the summer season. If they were persuaded and assisted in farming, and learned to read, they might soon be civilized. 'Tis strange that nothing has been done by the provinces contiguous to the Indians. Under all these disadvantages, if there was no rum brought among them, it appears to me that some good might have

have been done. Some have thought that the traders prejudiced the Indians against me. 'Tis possible that there were some so bad, but in general I must clear them of the charge, believing that it would have been very agreeable to have seen my journey successful. Some of the traders were not only civil, but very generous : especially messrs. Irwine, Henry and Duncan : the others were very kind, but had not an equal opportunity of shewing hospitality. I am sorry that I was obliged to remove before more instructions could be given in return for their kindness : but such was the distress, that my best friends advised my removal. At present indeed it is not safe for any person to venture himself among these lawless savages, who have no conscience about shedding innocent blood.

I WOULD dismiss the subject about these Indians, only it will be expected that some description of their apparel should be given. In this respect they differ nothing from most of other Indians. The men wear shirts, match-coats, breech-clouts, leggings and mockesons, called by them *mockeetha*. Their ornaments are silver plates about their arms, above and below their elbows. Nose jewels are common. They paint their faces, and cut the rim of their ears, so as to stretch them very large. Their head is dressed in the best mode, with a black silk handkerchief about it ; or else the head is all shaved only the crown, which is left for the scalp. The hair in this has a swan's plume, or some trinket of silver tied in it. The women wear short shifts over their stroud, which serves for a petticoat. Some times a calico bedgown. Their hair is parted and tied behind. They paint only in spots in common on their cheeks. Their ears are never cut, but some have

ten silver rings in them. One squaa will have near five hundred silver broaches stuck in her shift, stroud and leggins. Men and women are very proud, but men seem to exceed in this vice. 'Tis said that they suffer no hair to grow on their body, only on their head. Some pull out their eyebrows.

No company presenting, and matters not wearing the best aspect, concluded not to go to the Waindotts, but to direct my course to the Delaware Indians ; having got a horse through the kindness of Mr. Irwine, which cost me twenty-five dollars : and being somewhat furnished with provisions for my journey, on Monday February 8, about ten o'clock, parted with my good friends at Chillicaathee, and set out alone, passing through Pickaweeke ; came before night to Kiskapookee, which is situated on a creek that soon empties into Siota. The town is near one mile from the river.—This day's journey was more than twenty miles—the course near northeast and by north. For the first eight miles, was not without some apprehensions of being pursued, but after that, was very little disturbed in mind. At this town my lodging was with Mr. Richard Butlar, brother to William Butlar before mentioned. His usage was kind and generous, not only preparing wheat cakes for my journey, but he also gave me two pair of leggins to barter for provisions by the way ; for these Indians as yet have not the use of money. In the morning my horse could not be found, and by that means missed of company : however about one o'clock passed over Siota in a canoe, in company with Mr. Butlar, who was so kind as to see me over, because I could not converse with Indians about my ferriage. The lad that brought me over is a  
white

white captive. When I spoke to him, was very sorry to see him shake his head, and reply, "*Motta keeno toleeb neekaana*," i. e. I do not understand you, my friend. There remain a considerable number of captives in this nation, which were all to have been restored at the conclusion of the last peace, and without doubt the *agent* has in this point been deficient. The country through which I passed to day, appears very excellent, only it abounds very much with bogs, or what may be called fresh marshes, so that perhaps it may not be best for health; but promises to be extraordinary for stock. My course to day was about northeast. As I passed a certain place called the *Great Lick*, saw the last flock of parrots. These birds are in great abundance about Siota in winter, and in summer 'tis probable they may be seen much further towards the north. Having set out very late, night came on before I arrived to the next town. My road was very small, and the night dark in this wide wilderness, made my travelling more disagreeable than can be easily expressed: but before nine o'clock, came safe to Mr. McCormick's at the Standing Stone. This town consists chiefly of Delaware Indians. It is situated on a creek called Hockhockini. The soil about this is equal to the highest wishes, but the creek appears muddy. Though it is not wide, yet it soon admits large canoes, and from hence peltry is transmitted to Fort Pitt. Overtook here Mr. David Duncan, a trader from Shippen's town, who was going to Fort Pitt.

WEDNESDAY 10, intending to travel forty miles, set out early in the morning—our course more northerly than northeast—the land chiefly low and level—and where our horses broke thro' the

the frost, it might be called bad road and good land. There were no inhabitants by the way. Before night, came to the designed town, called Dan. Elleot's wife's; a man of that name was said to have here a squaa for his pretended wife. This is a small town consisting of Delawares and Shawannees. The chief is a Shawannee woman, who is esteemed very rich—she entertains travellers—there were four of us in company, and for our use, her negro quarter was evacuated this night, which had a fire in the middle without any chimney.\* This woman has a large stock, and supplied us with milk. Here also we got corn for our horses at a very expensive price: but Mr. Duncan paid for me here, and in our journey till we parted. About a mile before we came to this town, we crossed a clear large stream, called Salt Lick Creek, which empties into Muskingum, on which the chief Delaware town is situated. The country here appeared calculated for health, fertile and beautiful.

THURSDAY 11, set out for a small town called Conner's, a man of that name residing there.

OUR course was near northeast—the distance was less than the preceding day's journey, so that we arrived to town some time before sunset. Travelled this day over a good country, only wanting inhabitants. This town is situated near no creek, a good spring supplying them with water—the land about it is level and good, the timber being chiefly blackoak, indicates it will produce good wheat, if a trial was made. Mr. Conner, who is a white man, a native of Maryland,

I told

\* This woman has several negroes who were taken from Virginia in time of last war, and now esteemed as her property.

told me that he intended to sow wheat in the fall following, and was resolved to proceed to farming at all events. 'Tis probable that he will be as good as his word, for he is a man that seems not to fear God, and it is likely that he will not regard man. His connections will favour his attempts, for according to their way, he and the chief Indian of this town are married to two sisters. These women were captives, and it is likely from childhood, for they have the very actions of Indians, and speak broken English. It seemed strange to me to see the captives have the exact gestures of Indians. Might we not infer from hence, that if Indians were educated as we are, they would be like us? This town consists of Shawannees and Delawares; and some of them dwell in pretty good log houses well shingled with nails. Mr. Conner keeps a sort of a tavern, and has moderate accommodations, and though he is not what he should be, yet he was kind to me.

FRIDAY 12, here we parted with some of our company, whose absence was very agreeable, and in company with Mr. Duncan, set out for New-Comer's Town, which is the chief town of the Delawares. Had gone but a few miles till we came to the Little Shawannee Woman's Town. This is situated on the west side of Muskingum, and chiefly consists of Shawannees. Here we crossed the river in a canoe, our horses swimming by it's side. The country began to be hilly, interspersed with some barren plains. We passed Captain White Eye's Town, but this noted Indian was down Ohio, perhaps with my old interpreter, so that I could not have the satisfaction of seeing him this time, but I saw him several times the first visit. He was the only Indian I met with  
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in all my travels, that seemed to have a design of accomplishing something future. He told me that he intended to be religious, and have his children educated. He saw that their way of living would not answer much longer—game grew scarce—they could not much longer pretend to live by hunting, but must farm, &c.—But said, he could not attend to matters of religion now, for he intended to make a great *bunt* down Ohio, and take the skins himself to Philadelphia. I was informed that he accomplished this, and went round by the gulf of Florida to Philadelphia. On this occasion, could not but think of that text of scripture, which says, “one went to his farm and another to his merchandise.” And it may be said, the Indian went to his hunting. This was the case last year, and perhaps something as important may employ the next year, and so the life of man is spent, few remembering that ONE THING is *needful*.

A FEW miles north of White Eye's town, there is a small town, where we obliged our horses to take the river, following them in a small canoe belonging to the Indians. Thence travelled over very hilly land till we came within two or three miles of New-Comer's Town, and from that to town the land is agreeable and appears good for wheat. Came to town before night, and found it was a great triennial feast, consequently little could be done till that ended. From the great town Chillicathee to this chief town of the Delawares, is called one hundred and thirty miles. The course may be estimated near northeast, but as the path goes, it varies in many places. This town is situated on the west side of the river Muskingum, which is a pretty large stream. The proper



proper pronounciation in Indian is *Mooskingung*, i. e. Elk Eye River. In their language an elk being called *moos*. This town takes its name from the name of the king, who is called *Neetotwhealemon*, i. e. New-Comer.

SATURDAY 13, was so happy as to meet Joseph Peappi, a Moravian Indian here, who is a good interpreter. Made application to him for his assistance in speaking to the king. He engaged and spoke very kindly on the occasion. He went and informed the king that I was in town, and would wait on him presently, and was to remain till I came. After proper time for information, went in, desiring Joseph to let the king know, that I was the man that he expected : upon which he met me with some complaisance, and seemed to receive me affectionately, inviting me to sit down. Told him that I was the man that wrote two letters to him last year, one from Monongehela, and the other from Fort Pitt. Asked if he received them with a belt of wampum. He replied that he received all, which he would produce if required. I informed him it was not necessary, if he received them it was enough. Proceeded to let him know that my design in coming now, was the same that was specified in the letters—that I was a minister desirous to instruct them into the knowledge of that God who made us all. That now I was ready to speak to him and his people, if he would only grant me liberty. Replied that in these matters he could do nothing without the advice of his council ; that he would inform them of it, and an answer should be given as soon as the great feast was ended. This was not only what they call a feast, but also a time of great dancing and gaming, so that nothing else could be attended

to

to till that was finished. To improve the present time, concluded to visit the Moravian towns.

SABBATH 14, in company with Mr. Duncan, set out, but by reason of ice, arrived not to it till afternoon. When we came, worship was finishing; the minister continued but a few sentences, which were spoken by him in the English tongue, an interpreter giving the meaning to the Indians. This town is situated on high level land east side of Muskingum, about ten miles up the stream from New-Comer's Town. It is laid out in regular form—houses are built on each side of the street. These Indians moved here about August 1772, and have used such frugality, that they have built neat log houses to dwell in, and a good house for divine worship, about twenty-two feet by eighteen, well seated, and a good floor and chimney. They are a mixture of Stock-Bridge, Mingo, and Delaware Indians. Since the last war their chief residence has been about Wioming. Their conduct in time of worship is praise-worthy. Their grave and solemn countenances exceed what is commonly seen among us at such times. Their minister, the Reverend David Siezberger seems an honest man, a native of Moravia, nor has he been many years in this country. He has been successful among these poor heathens, condescending for their sake to endure hardships. While I was present he used no kind of prayer, which was not pleasing to me, therefore asked him if that was their uniform practice. He replied that some times prayer was used. Their worship began and ended with singing an hymn in the Indian language, which was performed melodiously. In the evening they met again for worship, but their minister, inadvertently or by design,

design, spoke in the German language, so that by me nothing was understood. Mr. Siezberger told me that near eighty families belong to their two towns, and there were two ministers besides himself. I was informed that one of them, whose name is Youngman, is a person of good abilities. By what appeared, must say, that the conduct of the Moravian society towards the heathen is commendable. These have behaved like christians indeed, while most of other societies have altogether neglected, or in general made but faint attempts.\* Indeed by what I have heard of the Reverend David Braynard, he was sincerely engaged, but his time was short. In the evening, informed Mr. Siezberger, that it would gratify me to preach to his Indians. He replied with some appearance of indifference, that an opportunity might be had in the morning. 'Tis probable he was a little afraid to countenance me, lest some disciples might be made; than which, nothing was more foreign from my intention. Or his reservedness may be ascribed to his natural disposition.

MONDAY 15, parted here with my kind fellow-traveller Mr. Duncan, who went on his way towards Fort Pitt. At the appointed time the Indians convened—Joseph Peappi was interpreter. Introduced my discourse by observing that it was not my design in coming from home, to preach to them, not being informed of their removal; but seeing Providence gave an opportunity, had a desire to speak to them. Proceeded to observe that all the disciples of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST separated themselves from the course of *this* world,  
no

\* No reference is had to the northern Indians, the author not perfectly knowing their state.

no longer to live as the world lived. As other people were bad, they might expect some difficulties, and perhaps some persecutions; but that they should be strong in heart, for God in due time would give them rest. That they should be watchful, and beware of backsliding, to live like other Indians; but as God had opened their eyes, to keep on their way till they came to eternal rest with CHRIST in heaven, &c. &c. The discourse continued about half an hour. On this occasion was very sensible of divine assistance; and from the great and apparent solemnity, it was thought that the word of God was felt with power. Such was the spiritual delight enjoyed, that it seemed no small compensation for my troubles and hardships endured. The next town was situated about ten miles up the same stream, where the ministers chiefly reside. Was informed that the other house of worship was more splendid, adorned with a steeple and bell, but the ice prevented me from seeing it. These Indians are tradesmen, understanding farming and carpenter work; and being already furnished with stock, intend to live as we do, and 'tis probable in a few years will live richly; for the land appears good for wheat. While I was here one of the Indians asked the minister, when Easter Sunday was? Mr. Siezberger seemed to evade any discourse about it, and only told him that it was not for some time, and that he should have notice before it came. Perhaps had this question been asked among us, I should have thought little about it. But here the case was the *reverse*; for while I ruminated on it, my soul was filled with horror to think that *mortal* man should *presume* to teach a heathen religiously to observe

observe what GOD ALMIGHTY never taught him as any part of his WILL. 'Tis granted, that according to ecclesiastical history, this festival claims antiquity ; but the hoary head is a crown of honour only when found in the way of righteousness. And it must be granted that the holy scriptures are the only *rule* in matters of religion, by which we are to judge what is right, and what is not. Old errors and superstition can never become modern truths. Nor need the disciples of CHRIST give themselves the least trouble to search what is called *antiquity* on such subjects ; for it should be a matter of no more *concern* to them, than to know whether the trees, in Mahomet's *elysian fields*, are pears or apricots.

My thoughts were not limited here, but went in search of the superstitious reliques of the scarlet whore, yet kept alive among us who call ourselves REFORMED. And indeed I found many, but am so well acquainted with the prejudices of education, as to fear that all that might be said on the subject, would terminate as it did with *Othaa-waapeeleehee*, the Shawannee Indian, who said "they had lived a great while in the way that they now do, and were *resolved to continue so*." Many instances might be produced, but shall mention only the observance of Christmas, which may with more propriety be called POPEMAS. Methinks I see the reader surprised at the appellation so uncommon ; but is it not with greater propriety called the *mass* of him who is the institutor of it, than to bear his NAME, who has neither ordained nor will approve of it ? 'Tis certain that CHRIST never intended any singular homage to be paid to the day of his birth, which is plain from there being no records of it in the holy

holy scripture.\* This Infinite wisdom thought proper to conceal, as the body of Moses, to prevent superstition. And where scripture has no mouth to speak, we ought to have no ears to hear, nor hearts to obey, for "*his servants ye are whom ye obey.*" Seeing this is the case, will it be uncharitable to call such as uphold the reliques of popery, the *worshippers* of the image of the beast in these particulars? 'Tis common for people to say, what harm is it to worship on this day? May it not be asked such, what harm is it to eat meat? but if any should tell us it is offered to an *idol*, you know we are not to eat. The case is similar—'tis no harm to worship, if it is not done as under the notion of CHRISTMAS; but when that is the motive, 'tis then honouring the whore of Babylon, and consequently no longer a matter of indifferency.—But to proceed, I returned to New-Comer's Town in the afternoon, and went to see captain Killbuck, who is a sensible Indian, and uses us with part of the complaisance of a gentleman. He speaks good English, so that I conversed on the subject of preaching, and he was to meet me next morning to converse further. He invited me to make free in coming to see him. Soon perceived that he bore the chief sway in all their affairs, and could do more than the king himself in many things.

TUESDAY 16, met captain Killbuck, spoke on many subjects. In our discourse he told me, that some years since, two Presbyterian ministers visited them—that they did not incline to encourage their continuance, yet their visit had such effect,

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that

\* There is no certainty when Christ was born, whether it was on the first or twenty-fifth day of December.

that they had been thinking of it ever since.\* He said, that they intended to have both a minister and schoolmaster, but would not have Presbyterians, because their ministers went to war against them, and therefore did not like to be taught by them now, who were before for killing them. It was plain that Indian prejudice was very great and unreasonable. Replied that the Moravians never fought against them, therefore they might receive them. His reply was, that Moravians did not belong to our kingdom, being from Germany, and could not save their people alive in time of war. Upon this he related the distresses and dangers of the Moravian Indians last war, and how they were preserved at Philadelphia. Adding, that for all the assistance that the Moravians could give, their Indians might have been killed. Hence argued, that it did not signify to be of that religion, that could not protect them in war time. He said, they intended to go to England and see our king, and tell him that they would be of the same religion that he is, and would desire a minister and schoolmaster of his own choosing. Told him that his speech pleased me, but thought they were too poor to accomplish it, and feared they would get little assistance. He said, that they had near forty pounds already, and intended to make an early hunt, which would enable them to go in the fall. To effect this, captain Killbuck and Swallowhead were chosen messengers to *Sir William Johnson* while I was there. Encouraged their designs, willing to resign the civilizing them to his majesty's directions: but am persuaded, that the service of the church of England, as it now stands, will never be prescribed.

\* Ministers do good when they know it not.



scribed for Indians; for nothing would disgust them more than to have a religion, which would consume the greater part of life, only to learn its ceremonies.

THURSDAY 18, Afternoon, conversing with Killbuck, he told me that the young men were desirous to hear me preach, consequently concluded to preach next day. In the evening, had an opportunity to converse with Joseph Peappi, who would interpret for me; but I told him that I would give only five pounds for a month; he said, he used to have seven pounds. Indians, from the greatest to the least, seem mercenary and excessively greedy of gain. Indeed they are so lazy, that they are commonly needy, and must be more so, if they do not cultivate their lands; deer grow so scarce, that, great part of the year, many of them rather starve than live. Mr. Evans, who is a trader in this town, told me, that last summer some were supported by sucking the juice of green cornstalks.

FRIDAY 19, expected to preach, but Killbuck told me that they were not yet fully united in the point—Had reason to think that the king was not much for it, though he said little—Neither do I conclude that Joseph was very desirous of it, for the traders often told me that the Moravians taught their Indians to disrespect other societies, and I could wish that there were less grounds for the report. Asked Killbuck if he knew the reason why they were not united for my preaching? he seemed to intimate, it would have been otherwise, if I had come last fall, while they were in the notion of it: but found, by conversing with him, there is a jealousy in them, lest we should have some design of enslaving them, or something  
of

of that nature. He told me that an highland officer took one of their women as his wife, and went with her into Maryland about Joppa: and they heard, there he sold her a slave like a negro. This he said, a gentleman in Philadelphia told him: and as they never saw the squaa afterwards, they were ready to believe that the report was true. If this case is so, and this gentleman could only see that by his means he has prejudiced the heathens against us, am persuaded he would mentally retract his intelligence with a degree of sorrow. Replied, that I never heard it before, yet was persuaded that it could not be true, that she continued a slave; for if the officer was guilty of such a crime, the law of our land allowed no Indians of our country to be slaves, and the magistrates would surely set her free. But he said, their people did not know our law, therefore such reports made them afraid of us. He further said, "What is become of the woman, she never came back to us again?" Replied, that I could not tell, may be she did not choose to come, or she might be dead. By this time, was much discouraged, and by hardships and want of provisions my health and strength were greatly impaired. No meat could be had here for love or money. Bought milk at nine-pence a quart, and butter at two shillings a pound, but not near sufficient could be had. From the king, had bought the rump of a deer dried, after their custom, in the smoke to preserve it without salt, which made it so disagreeable that little could be used. Indeed, I had coffee, chocolate and tea, but sugar was so scarce, that it could not well be used. Desires called for a land, where famine doth not raise her baleful head, therefore on Saturday

turday 20, inquired for a pilate to accompany me towards Ohio. The season was severely cold, so that the king and captain Killbuck would not suffer me to go, for they said the weather was so cold, that it would kill even an Indian. Indeed the season was so intensely cold, that attempts to travel were impracticable. My continuance here was very disagreeable ; for though the traders of this town were civil, yet they had no taste for religion, so that I was alone without suitable sustenance, waiting the permission of Providence to depart homewards.

SABBATH 21, this was a remarkable cold day—some part of it was spent conversing with Killbuck on several particulars, concerning the belief of the Delaware Indians. 'Twas asked, whether they believed that there is a God who created all things? He replied, that this was their common belief. The second question was, whether they believed that when any person died, their soul went to a happy state, or to a state of misery? Replied, this they also believed. The third was, whether they knew that God would by his great power raise up all the dead to life again at the end of this world? His reply was, that this they knew nothing of, 'till lately they had heard it among the Moravian Indians. These Indians have been so long acquainted with us, that it is not easy to determine what they have learned of us.

THIS day liberty was granted to preach as often as I pleased, but not having my interpreter, could do little; for Killbuck would not accept of Joseph, for, he said, I might as well not speak as to have him, for instead of saying what I said, Joseph would say what his own heart thought. Though I had better thoughts of Joseph, soon perceived that

that Killbuck had such an aversion to him, that if he was used for an interpreter, nothing could be done. This was the only time that opened for doing good, and this opportunity was chiefly lost, for want of Mr. Owens my old interpreter; therefore all that was said as preaching, was in the council, using Killbuck as an interpreter, who was capable in common affairs, but knew little concerning religion. To day the king and council concluded, that no more rum should be drank in this town or nation, and that there should be no more gaming or dancing only at their triennial feast. This made me think of the laws of New-Jersey about *horseracing*, in which there were such reserves, as evidently demonstrated that some of the assembly loved the *sport*.

MONDAY 22, Killbuck told me that they were making up a speech to governor Penn, who had wrote to them last fall, and I must wait to write and carry it. He said they would provide me a pilate.

TUESDAY 23, the same message was sent, informing me that for six dollars, should have a pilate to see me over Ohio. This news was not the most agreeable, as the wages were unreasonable, and my daily expences similar. 'Twas impossible to purchase one pound of bear's flesh, or one venison ham.—This people live truly poor. The land is indeed good, but at present the price is in the hand of fools. In the afternoon a messenger came for me to wait on the king and council—Their number might be about twenty convened in their council-house, which may be sixty feet by twenty-four. It had one post in the middle, and two fires. Most of them had long pipes in almost constant use—they set round the fires on skins—a stool was prepared for me—then presented

ed a bowl of hommany, of which they were eating. Spoons they had none, but a small ladle serves four or five Indians. After our repast, a sheet of paper was brought, and Killbuck being interpreter, informed me, that it was their desire that I should write to governor Penn from them, desiring that he would inform his people, that if any brought rum their side of Allegini river or Ohio, they had appointed six men, on pain of death, to stave every keg—And that he would let governor Franklin know, that they desired all the Jersey Indians to move into their country, as it is large enough, &c. Accordingly a letter was written, and every word interpreted by captain Killbuck and an assistant. This was delivered to his honour Richard Penn, esq. 'Tis to be hoped the contents thereof will merit his honour's attention; for as the Indians seemed resolute in the point, 'tis possible that neglects might be attended with undesirable consequences.

WEDNESDAY 24, was called to the council, and desired to deliver a speech to the Quakers at Philadelphia; but as there was nothing worthy of writing in the message, therefore delivered it verbally to Mr. Thomas Wharton in Philadelphia.

As next day I was to begin my journey towards Ohio, therefore it may be said, that at this meeting, I took my leave of them, giving them all the advice that was thought expedient, which they seemed to receive very friendly—so we parted in love and peace.

THESE Indians are not defective in natural abilities, and their long acquaintance with us, has given some of them better notions than many other savages. They are as void of civil government

ment as the Shawannees. Their virtues are but few, their vices near the same with other Indians. Their customs are resembling the Shawannees, only they have a great feast once in three years. Asked Killbuck the meaning of it? he said, it might have had some meaning at first, but now was observed only as an old custom. The language of these Indians in general differs very much from the Shawannees, being still more guttural. Shall give you a specimen of their manner of counting to ten, viz. *guitta, nusba, nucha, neab, pelenah, cootash, neeshash, chaash, peshbung, telen*. These Indians at present have no way of worshipping or acknowledging God; but they seem to incline to learn to read—and have begun to farm, to which they are much assisted by a Jersey Indian, who is not only their smith, but also makes their ploughs. Indeed it appears that both a minister and school-master may go among them with safety and success, if they keep their conclusion to suffer no rum to be brought into their country. On this subject I spoke much, shewing the advantages that would arise from the constant observance of this conclusion; and exhorted them to be *strong*.\* To which they answered with loud voices *kehellah*, which is the most emphatical way of saying yes. They shew some honour to a minister; but are so extortionate in the price of their provisions, that a man must expend much more money in preaching among them, than he can get by preaching among us. They increase much faster than the Shawannees, polygamy not being so common. Their town is in no regular form. Neither these nor the Shawannees claim any distinct property in lands,

\* This is an Indian phrase, signifying as much as to say, be resolute, firm and valiant.

lands, looking on it that God made it free for all. Nor could I understand that they have any fixed bounds to a nation, esteeming it chiefly useful for hunting. Providence seems to point out the civilizing of these Indians ; for a farming life will lead to laws, learning, and government, to secure property. Captain Killbuck told me, he saw the necessity of a magistrate to recover debts, and said, that by and by, he expected that they would have one ; but as yet their people did not understand matters. 'Tis a little surprising that *protestants* should be so neglectful of the Indians ; and in common there is no concern appears among them, about civilizing the many nations, that are yet rude savages : while on the other hand, the *French Papists*, have been very industrious to instil their principles into the minds of such as were contiguous to them, and with some success. The Waindots are a little tainted, but might, 'tis probable, be easily better informed, and especially as the French are in a manner expelled. This I can say, that though my body and estate suffered by this journey, yet I do not repent my visit, but rejoice that some attempts have been made, though not with the success that could be wished. Would have stayed longer, but being destitute of my old interpreter, and scarcity of provisions, rendered it impracticable.

THURSDAY 25, having a pilate, which cost six dollars, though I paid Mr. Tompson the trader only one guinea, yet he made it up in goods, set out about eleven o'clock from New-Comer's Town on Muskingum, intending the nearest course for the river Ohio. My pilate was a Jersey Indian, whose name is Pontus Newtemus ; he spoke English intelligibly, but was almost as great a stranger



to the woods as myself—and we had a path only the first part of the way. Our course should be a little south of east. This day travelled only about fifteen miles, and encamped by a brook, where we were surrounded with abundance of howling wolves. Spent the evening conversing on many subjects; found Pontus with little more knowledge than other Indians.—Assisted by a good fire, we slept well, considering that our frigid curtains were the circumambient air.

FRIDAY 26, set out about eight o'clock. This day we left our little path, and went according to my directions, for Pontus knew not the course, only he was informed from a rough sketch of the new map which I had by me. Some part of the way the land was charming—looked extraordinary for wheat, covered with the finest blackoak trees and gooseberry-bushes; at last encamped at a creek about five yards wide, running southeast, neither of us knew into what larger creek it emptied. Surrounded with the protection of him, whose tender mercies are over the works of his hands, we slept safe in the midst of a doleful wilderness.—This day's journey was at least thirty miles.

SATURDAY 27, set out, and soon left the creek, steered our course near east, till at last we came to a creek which we followed, and a little before sunset, came to the river Ohio, opposite to Wheeling. This creek empties into Ohio opposite to an island, and as it is common to pass down Ohio the east side of this island, by that means it escaped the notice of Mr. Hutchins, and also of Mr. Hooper, consequently it was not in my map, therefore could not tell where I was. Mr. Hooper has now rectified this defect, and was pleased to give the creek my name.

SABBATH

SABBATH 28, in the morning, parted with my pilate in great love and friendship, having travelled at least seventy-five miles together in the solitary wilderness; and though he always behaved well, can't say that I was without some fear at times, lest he should do me an injury. Went four or five miles down Ohio, and came opposite to Mr. William McMechens, from whence I took water for the Shawannees. Much ice was driving down the stream, yet when I called, Mr. McMechen ventured over in a little canoe, that threatened danger, leaving at that time my horse behind, we came safely over. When we arrived to this shore, my sensation was truly pleasing, hope raised high expectations of seeing New-Jersey once more. Here remained for some weeks, waiting for the arrival of my brother and Mr. Clark, who were gone for corn to Monongehela. And as I am now about leaving this famous country, think proper to speak a little on a subject chiefly omitted.

THE land, according to my judgment, has been justly described; but this is not all the excellency of this new world, for its waters abound with the greatest abundance of fine fishes. There is a kind of fish here called white perch, some of which are larger than a shad, and very agreeable food. Sun-fish, or what is called yellow-perch, are here as large as a shad. There is another kind of fish called buffaloe fish, many of which are larger than our sheephead—Catfish of an extraordinary sort are taken here, some of which are said to weigh an hundred pounds. We took one, that after seven of us had eaten twice of it, part was given to the Indians. Large salmon are to be met with here also—some sturgeon, prodigious

prodigious large pike, chubs, mullets, and various kinds of small fishes. I have been informed that shad have been taken, and some herrings ; but the riches of the waters are not fully known, the people not having seines made as yet. The wild beasts met with here, are bears, wolves, panthers, wildcats, foxes, raccoons, beavers, otters, and some few squirrels and rabbits ; buffaloes, deer and elks, called by the Delawares *moos*. The fowls to be seen are wildgeese, ducks of various kinds, some swans, abundance of turkies, some of which are very large ; pheasants, pigeons, and some few quails, by some called partridges. This country promises the inhabitants a plenty of the necessaries of life ; and having described it according to my knowledge, and best information, would have here left the reader : but as GOD was pleased to bring me through some very trying scenes, thought proper to communicate the same, hoping it may be of some benefit to such as meet with tribulations, in this world of sorrow.

FRIDAY, March 19, left Ohio alone, and encamped on the creek called Weeling. This was the only night that I slept alone in the wilderness : the solitary repose can scarcely be described, many thoughts arose, none otherwise to be removed, only by the proper exercise of faith on him, who has promised never to leave nor forsake his children. It was so ordered that not even a wolf howled to disturb me.

MARCH 25, was crossing the Alegini mountain--the snow was nine inches deep, and suffered not a little by the severe cold.

SABBATH 28, came to Old Town, and preached in the evening at Col. Grassop's. On the week following, was taken with the pleurisy, and lay at David Bowen's, at Conegocheage.

SATURDAY, April 3, drew off about fourteen ounces of blood, which relieved so much, that in the afternoon, fell into a pleasant sleep, and had such a representation of my family at home, that after awaking, told some of the people, that it was my belief that my son was dead, and found when I came home, he had departed about that hour. From that time my spirit sunk in me, with an unaccountable sadness. From this infer, that God doth sometimes give intimations of future events in sleep.\* But in common, no notice should be taken of slumbering imaginations. After recruiting my strength a little, went through New-Castle county, having some business to transact there.

THURSDAY, April 22, set out in hopes of seeing my family once more in the land of the living, but about sixteen miles from Philadelphia, at a small town called Chester, met an acquaintance, who gave me the sorrowful news that my favourite son was dead. Though this news was expected, yet when it verbally reached my ears, it struck me through the very heart, with such extacies of sorrow, that my soul seemed as if it would expire. Sorrowfully I rode to Philadelphia, and was prevailed on to remain there over the Sabbath. Had buried two children before, but as Jacob's heart and life was bound up in Benjamin, so was mine in this son. At this time, life seemed a burden, and all the world a mere empty nothing. Sleep was only obtained when exhausted with weeping.

SATURDAY 24, in the morning when I awoke, the wounds began to bleed afresh: but, unexpectedly, these words came with such power, that relief was soon obtained, viz. "My son despise  
not

\* Job xxxiii. 15.

“not the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him : for whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.” That part of the verse in particular, which says, “whom the Lord loveth, he scourgeth,” was of singular support in my present distress ; impressing on my heart such a sense of God’s love to me, that such was the relief, that the next day, was enabled to preach. The words are in Heb. xii. 5, 6. what a precious saying is that ! which so comfortably affirms, “that whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning ; that we through patience and COMFORT of the scriptures might have hope.” There is no condition, in which any of God’s children can be, but he hath left a word suited exactly to their case. And indeed it must be so, seeing that his promise is “I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.”

MONDAY 26, set out, and at night lodged at a friend’s house. When retired to my bed-chamber, thoughts crowded into my soul—The sorrowful scene began to open to view, anticipating my arrival to meet my beloved wife, in my absence, bereaved of a dear son. Ideas of my darling came fresh into my soul—I knew not how to go home and miss him. Circumstances of his death came into mind, how hard it was to leave him alive, and find him dead ! what is common to human nature in distress, fruitless wishes were not a few : such as, oh ! that I had been with him, or even had been permitted to attend his *dear remains* to the solitary grave ! but now, alas ! alas ! I shall never more see him on earth !—These thoughts with many of the same nature, were productive of floods of tears ’till sleep gave respite.

TUESDAY

TUESDAY 27, in the morning, soon after I awoke, while ruminating on my case, these words were impressed on my heart with both power and comfort, viz. "ye have heard of the afflictions of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy." The whole dealings of God towards Job opened very clearly to view, and it was evident that his case far exceeded mine: at once he lost all his children and wealth, not by what we call a natural Death, but by one fatal stroke the vital flame is quenched in the ruins of an house. That clause which saith, "the Lord is very pitiful," ministered truly great comfort to my soul. Had then a lively sense of the tender compassion of the Lord; and though he causeth grief for wise ends, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies. By this means, found myself much supported, and enabled to believe that I should yet find God very pitiful, notwithstanding that now the chastisement was severe. The words are in the epistle of James, chap. v. and verse 11, only with this variation, viz. in James the word is *patience*, and the word *affliction* was used instead thereof, as being most suitable to my case. It may be observed, that in giving comfort, the Lord doth not always use the very word in the text, but is pleased to adapt the *substance* thereof, according to the circumstance of the afflicted. 'Tis more than probable, that there are some, who are strangers to comfort from the scriptures by the application of promises, and such may think it only a kind of fancy; but they who are better acquainted with God, and know the mysteries of the kingdom, can bless his holy name, for such glorious displays of his love.

As

As I came within a few miles of home, sorrow returned again afresh in such a degree, that human nature seemed too weak to sustain the heavy *load*, till these words were impressed on my mind with a degree of power, viz. "Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee." For a little space, that part calmed the surges of sorrow, which says, "yet will I not forget thee." But had not rode far before my wounds began to bleed afresh, then these words came with such power, that not only my distress was removed, but also, greater assurance of eternal life was enjoyed, than what I had been favoured with for some years past, viz. "that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." Being thus supported, came home in the strength of the LORD, having great cause to speak both of judgment and mercy. This tour contained six months and one day, in which greater hardships were endured, than are spoken of, but may be conceived by remembering that in rainy and snowy weather blankets stretched were all my house: and in fair weather no other shelter than the open air: but in many respects, have learned more in this time, than in all my life before. In the description of this country, and account of the Indians, my endeavour and view was, to inform all who were pleased to read: but the narrative, respecting my troubles, was chiefly designed for the sons and daughters of affliction, hoping it may not be altogether in vain to others. To all parents of children, who may be pleased to read, would close this Journal with a few words of advice. viz.

#### 1. CONSIDER



1. CONSIDER the most lovely child only lent to you from GOD, who has a sovereign right to call for his own, when, and in what way seemeth good unto himself; and none should say, what doest thou? Alas! we are prone to forget this, and act as if there was none that ruleth above, ordering all events here on earth.

2. NEVER suffer your affections to be fixed too much on any child, for our children are all mortal, and at best but uncertain comforts. How often may it be observed, that GOD is pleased to take away the flower of a family? and that in the morning of days and bloom of life. He has wise ends in all his proceedings, and gives no account of his actions to man. If he is pleased to spare our children, how often doth it prove only a continued cause of sorrow? for such is the corruption of the age, that very few seek after GOD, and endeavour to keep themselves unspotted from the world. We are too subject, if GOD endows our children with any thing distinguishable, to idolize such; but often he shews us our fault, with broken hearts. This was my unhappy case. All my concern was about my son Joseph. He was as dear to me as Absalom to David, or as Benjamin to Jacob. But, was soon made to see my folly, and the great instability of worldly comforts. All that I would say on this occasion is, "the LORD giveth, and the LORD taketh away, blessed be the name of the LORD." We find that GOD makes his dearest children pass under the rod: and this we may expect, though we are not at ease; for our blessed Lord says, "as many as I love, I rebuke and chasten."

3. ENDEAVOUR to be single-hearted, not loving the world, nor the things of the world, for,  
M when

when this is our case, we are fit to live or die; having our affections on things above, far from all disappointment. 'Tis said this is not our rest, and so we shall find it; but there remains a rest for the people of GOD. 'Tis but a little while, before all our concerns about this world will have an end.——Some of our children have gone before us, and we shall soon follow after; these bodies shall remain in the solitary confines of the grave 'till time shall be no more. How are we disquieted in vain! for all things here are but vanity and vexation of spirit.

4. AND lastly, when in adversity, beware of murmuring against GOD. Cannot say that I was free from it, but am so far from justifying it, that 'tis expected, that among other iniquities, this also is washed away by the precious blood of CHRIST. We find this sin cleaving to the best of men. Jeremiah curses the day of his birth. 'Tis indeed a great evil—it represents GOD lacking wisdom or goodness in disposing events on earth: but he is wise in all his providences, and not only good, but he doeth good continually, and nothing but what is for the best to all his children. David could say, it was good for him to have been afflicted. And we have this gracious word to support us, viz. “all things do work together for good to them that love GOD.” Wherefore let us lift up our hands that hang down, and be encouraged, for whatsoever we suffer, it is the LORD that has done it, and can direct it, and bless it for good. He is at hand himself, and while we are here, let him be the delight and joy of our hearts, then we may say with calmness, when our spirits are demanded, come LORD JESUS, come quickly, amen.

*To complete the sheet, it is hoped, these Hymns may be acceptable, as their substance is truly evangelical; they became favourites of the Editor by bearing them frequently used on the banks of the Ohio.*

*The SINNER'S Invitation, &c.*

C O M E, sinners attend,  
And make no delay,  
Good news from a friend  
I bring you to day :  
Glad news of salvation,  
Come now and receive,  
There's no condemnation  
To you that believe.

I A M that I A M  
Hath sent me to you,  
Glad news to proclaim,  
Your foes to subdue :  
To you, O distressed,  
Afflicted forlorn,  
Whose sins are increased,  
And cannot be borne.

But still if you cry,  
O what is his name ?  
This is his reply,  
I A M that I A M :  
His name (though mysterious)  
Will fully supply  
Their wants, howe'er various  
That unto him fly.

Then

Exhaustless and full  
 For-ever his store ;  
 Then look no more dull  
 Tho' never so poor.  
 Tho' blind, lame and feeble,  
 And helpless you lie,  
 He's willing and able,  
 Your wants to supply.

Then only believe,  
 And trust in his name,  
 He will not deceive,  
 Nor put you to shame :  
 But fully supply you  
 With all things in store,  
 Nor will he deny you  
 Because you are poor.

*The convinced Sinner coming to CHRIST.*

THE SECOND PART.

DEAR JESUS, here comes,  
 And knocks at thy door,  
 A beggar for crumbs,  
 Distressed and poor :  
 Blind, lame and forsaken,  
 All roll'd in his blood,  
 At last overtaken,  
 When running from God.

To ask childrens bread  
 I dare not presume,  
 But, LORD, to be fed  
 With fragments I come :

Some

Some crumbs from thy table,  
 O let me obtain,  
 For lo, Thou art able  
 My wants to sustain.

I own I deserve  
 No favour to see,  
 So long I did swerve,  
 And wander from Thee ;  
 'Till brought by affliction  
 My follies to mourn ;  
 Now under conviction  
 To Thee I return.

Great God, my desert  
 Is nothing but death,  
 And hence to depart  
 For-ever in wrath ;  
 Yet, LORD, to this city  
 Of refuge I flee,  
 O let thine eye pity  
 A sinner like me !

For since Thou hast said,  
 Thou wilt cast out none  
 That flee to thine aid,  
 As sinners undone :  
 Now, LORD, I am come as  
 Condemned to die,  
 And on this sweet promise  
 I humbly rely.

I cannot depart,  
 Dear JESUS, nor yield  
 'Till feels my poor heart  
 This promise fulfill'd,

That

That I may for-ever  
 A monument be  
 To praise the free SAVIOUR  
 Of sinners like me.

*The great assize.*

**L**O, th' Almighty King of glory,  
 Sends his awful summons forth !  
 Calls the nations all before him  
 From the east, south, west and north !  
 His loud trumpet, his loud trumpet, his loud  
 trumpet  
 Rends the tombs, the dead awake !

Now behold the dead arising ;  
 Great and small before him stand :  
 Not one soul forgot, or missing ;  
 None his orders countermand.  
 All stand waiting, all stand waiting, all stand  
 waiting  
 For their last decisive doom.

Now the SAVIOUR, once despised,  
 Comes to judge the quick and dead ;  
 See his foes, each one with horror,  
 Lifting up his guilty head.  
 How they tremble ! how they tremble ! how they  
 tremble  
 At the L A M B's tremendous bar !

Now they see him on the rainbow,  
 With his countless guards around :  
 Saints and angels his retinue,  
 With their harps of sweetest sound,  
 Hallelujah ! hallelujah ! hallelujah !  
 Echoes sweet from all the choir.

Now

Now his chosen gladly meet him,  
 All seraphic, all divine !  
 Lo, they join the glorious army  
 Whose bright robes the sun outshine !  
 All triumphant ! all triumphant ! all triumphant !  
 See the grand redeemed throng !

Then behold the dreadful sentence  
 On the foes of CHRIST is past :  
 Down to hell without repentance  
 All the guilty crowd is cast,  
 While the ransom'd, while the ransom'd, while  
 the ransom'd,  
 All applaud the righteous doom.

Now attend the noble army,  
 Wash'd in their REDEEMER's blood ;  
 Swift and joyful is their journey,  
 To the palace of their GOD !  
 All victorious ! all victorious ! all victorious !  
 Hallelujah to the L A M B !

*Epiphonema.*

O ye Sinners, now give glory  
 To the great eternal Three !  
 While such danger lies before you,  
 Can you unconcerned be ?  
 Judgment hastens ! judgment hastens ! judgment  
 hastens !  
 Mercy, mercy now implore !





E R R A T U M.

In page 8, l. 21, instead of *from* read *for* Patterfon's creek,—









AYER

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